SN 311 The newest development, found in the Northwest, especially in Sinkiang, is the partial industrialization of those areas which are the sources of coal, oil, gold, iron, alum, quartz, gypsum, nitrates, salt, and, as recently reported, uranium.

SN 563 The non-Chinese peoples of the Northwest are not only outnumbered b ut also outweighed in economic and political respects. For more than two thousand years, the Chinese have been ruling those areas (with short interruptions as far as Sinkiang and Chinghai are concerned), even though they never had more than a few garrisons stationed in frontier areas. Those garrisons made it possible for a thin stratum of Chinese officials to rule the areas on the top level. On the lower level, the indigenous peoples and tribes governed themselves - under the supervision of the Chinese viceroys or governors and their bureaucracy.

SN 175 642 199 631 The general policy of the Chinese government in Peking was to make use of the existing form of governmental institutions of frontier areas like Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Inner-Mongolia. In Sinkiang (prior to 1884 it was called "Hui-chiang," i.e., Muslimic Dominion), two types of local government had existed: the Muslimic type and the Mongolian type. The [171] Northern and Northeastern part of Sinkiang, where the Mongols were the dominant inhabitants, had the same governmental institutions as Outer and Inner-Mongolia, namely, banners ruled by dzasaks, who were appointees of the Emperor in Peking. The Republic of China tacitly recognized their ranks [668] and interfered very little with their functions. Only Communist [565] China deprived the nomad aristocracy of their titles and rights.

The Muslimic communities were fuled by Bäks with various 175 631 795 649 657 ranks: the Ak'im Bäk, "local governor"; the Ishkhan Bäk, "assistant governor"; the Shang Bäk, "collector of revenue"; the Qazi, "judge"; the Kukbashi or Mirabu Bäk, "superintendant of agriculture"; Yüzbashi, "hundred-men-leader"; Onbashi, "ten-men-leader"; etc. All the local Bäks were appointed by the emperor or later on by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Imperial or Republican governor, although it must be stated that some governors of Sinkiang, Chin Shu-jen and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, ruled and governed the province without asking Peking for the consent of appointments.

SN 175 631 649 [202] Besides the Chinese civil service there existed Chinese military staffs and detachments, centered in Ili, Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashghar, Sining, Su-chou, Lan-chou, etc. Relay stations provided communication between the government in Peking and the frontier areas. Maintaining the effectiveness of the means of communications was an important duty of 000 Chinese officials. Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation

S
N A group of patrilineally
563 related families forms the basic economic (i.e., migrational)
621 unit in Mongol society. Pastures are distributed among such
S units. The structure of the society itself dictates a certain
N collectivistic working concept. Mongol social groupings are
[622] led by tribal chieftains, who are directly responsible to the
563 district Chinese official. Mongol society, unlike other North-
● 127 western societies, has not undergone great changes under
668 Communist influences. Their basic pattern of life has remained
S the same as it was under the Manchu and Republican regimes.
563 The Oirats (or Western Mongols:
233 The Oirats of the Northwest are primarily pastoral nomads.
[434] Their chief source of income is cattle, horses, sheep and
[131] goats. Because they live in a desert-steppe area they move
around in larger or smaller groups depending upon the avail-
able resources.
S
563 The designation for these small economic and migrational
62 units or camps is "xotn" which includes a group of nuclear
[594] families patrilineally related - tracing descent from a common
[613] ancestor in the third, fourth, or fifth generation.
[597] Membership in this group can be gained by adoption, by
attachment of a daughter's husband in the case of a man
with no sons and of poor unrelated families or poor related
families on the paternal side. Although some poorer families
remained apart from these "xotn" it usually is more worth-
while to add their few cattle, etc., to that of the larger
group and render services in return for the benefits gained
S thereby.
[613] Among the Oirats the closer an individual's relationship
[554] to the ancestor, the greater prestige and status he enjoys in
this group.
S
563 The headman or elder ("axalaci") dwells in a tent situated in
361 the front of the encampment facing south. The remainder of
[622] the group is arranged according to the age of the male members
S in a circle behind the dwelling of the elder. The dependent
[613] families are situated in the rear of the circle but still according
[554] to the closeness of their relation to the ancestor.
S
563 Wives of members of these extended families are also
621 affected by the social set-up; their position and status varies
593 directly with that of their husbands, although a wife's position
562 as far as respect patterns go was never equal to her husband's.
A wife observes strict respect for her husband's kinsmen who
possess, by reason of age and relationship, a higher position
than that of her husband. Very often she will not even pronounce
the names of any of these elder gentlemen out of respect for
them. The status of the wife grows with that of her husband
during his lifetime. When he dies, she can either remain
living with his kinsmen, in which case she holds the same
position socially that he had during his lifetime, or she can

S 563 622 628 leaders from every five-tent group meet on problems of importance such as taxes, Oirat-Chinese relations, internal administration, new regulations and laws, etc. This assembly of a tribe is called in Oirat: xurug.

S 792 443 Lamaseries function as marketing centers and these are the only places where non-patrilineally-related people meet each other in order to trade their products and where they go for religious festivals.

S 563 619 233 422 There are slight differences in herd ownership and management between the various tribes of the Western Mongols. (They call themselves the "Dörwön Oirat"(or "four Oirat") or Ulan-Zalatan ("those who wear red tassels on their hats).) The main tribes of Western Mongols are the Torguts, the Dörböts and the Ölöts plus the Oirat proper.

S [602] [609] Some tribes merge the herds of related and non-related individuals while others do not. The basis for different types of economic activities is the "non-kinship-relationship."

S 563 177 Some Western Mongolian tribes came in contact with other peoples more than other tribes did, in the course of history, with the result that customs, usage, and tradition underwent slight changes. Nevertheless, the pattern of S [184] authority, of inheritance, and the fact that the extended family represents a basic functional unit for purposes of taxation, exogamy, election, etc., are by and large the same in all tribes.

N 563 794 The Salars:

In the Chinese province of Kansu are found three classes of Moslems. There are those who have descended from the merchants on the old trade route from China through Persia to Arabia; another group has evolved from the Uighur branch of the Hun family; and finally there are the Salars. The Salars are of pure Turkish origin and are among the latest arrivals in China.

N [197] To their new home the Salars brought with them the original Turkish language and to this day that is their spoken N [197] language. The men have learned just a few words of Chinese and the women hardly any. This is one of the indications of a N 563 794 lack of assimilation which is characteristic of the Moslems in the west of China. Thus there is a general similarity among 177 the Moslems of Kansu and a dissimilarity between them and 184 Moslems further east. With the progression eastward assimilation of Islam to the Chinese way of life increases to the extent that finally the only difference is the abstinence from eating pork.

This difference in the degree of assimilation can be attributed to four factors: the Moslems in the east have been exposed to

/Salars/

563 794 179 184 Chinese life for a longer period of time; geographical isolation of those in the west; arrival in the west of the "New Sect," among whom are the Salars, dedicated to reform the older residents; and the fact that many in the east are mere converts.

[144] [262] [292] [293] The Moslems in Kansu are further set apart by the physical characteristics of their Tatar ancestry. Also contributing to the general physical condition of the Moslems is their tendency to eat more meat, drink more milk, and indulge less in wine and opium than the Chinese.

563 794 795 The Salars are Moslems of the Shiah division and of the "New Sect." (See chapter about Religion.) The majority of the Moslems in China are of the "Old Sect" and much better assimilated than the "New Sect." The "New Sect" is prevalent mainly in the west of China, and as indicated earlier, their lack of assimilation is due to an obsession to reform the older residents, and is accompanied by extreme fanaticism and intolerance. Amont this "New Sect" the Salars are the most fanatic of all and it may be that they excel in this tendency because of their isolation. Salar stubbornness is further revealed in the practice of the women, who persist in wearing the ancient dress of Samarkand.

563 794 [798] [346] Because the Moslems in China have throughout history persecuted and been persecuted, they display a certain caution in the practice of their religion in areas where they are not abundant. For example the mosques may often be architecturally designed to assume a Chinese style, and if they are in a decided minority the mosques will be constructed without a minaret. In such cases the muezzin will refrain from giving his calls. The isolated Salars, however, are more strict than most Moslems in certain observances. The women, [562] for instance, are still required to wear the veil while absent from their immediate home neighborhood.

563 794 795 Although there have been attempts in the past by the Moslems to set up their own state in North-West China, their internal division over religious questions makes their unification a difficult task because the Chinese leaders take advantage of this weakness and play one faction against another. It also seems to be the opinion that more than a religious basis is necessary in order to establish any sort of political entity. The Moslems are further handicapped in the field of practical political action in the modern world by the fact that it is nearly an impossibility to attain both a Koranic education and a modern education, an inherent requirement for coping with modern conditions in directing the establishment of a bona fide Moslem state. Even if some type of autonomous Moslem government were set up, the isolation, small population, and eccentricity of the Salars probably would

SN 563 182 The Chinese, fully aware of their old culture and history, continued up to our times to consider Mongols, Turks and Tibetans if not as barbarians, at least as inferior peoples. This attitude of the Chinese caused, perhaps as an understandably psychological reaction, the superiority-complex behaviour of some minorities. In addition, the higher efficiency and diligence of the average Chinese peasant in comparison with the average non-Chinese did not help mutual understanding and esteem.

SN 563 668 [641] Constitutionally, for the first time in centuries, the minorities are not only considered by the present Communistic regime as absolutely equal to any other racial or ethnic group but they are also treated with consideration. The Communists do everything in order to avoid hurting the nationalistic feeling of the minorities. The price the minorities SN [177] have to pay for a certain degree of local self-determination, independence and self-government is the thorough acceptance of the party line with all its consequences, above all, collectivization, which certainly means an incredible change of the traditional economic pattern, because eight ninths of the total population are peasants and only the remaining one ninth are pastoral nomads, whose livestock - collectivization is yet to come.

SN 563 829 Since the overwhelming majority of the population of the Northwest consists of Chinese, the attitude toward the state in general is positive. Natural recognition of the government lies in the traditional line of Chinese behavior. The deep-rooted respect for "magistracy" and officialdom implies this basic recognition.

SN 563 668 578 669 The relationship between Chinese Communist rulers and ruled Chinese (whether Communist or not) might be described as less frictional than that between the non-Chinese minorities and the Chinese Communist rulers, that is, a certain tension and uneasiness between the Uighur Autonomous Region and the government has occurred several times during the last five years, and also between the Tibetans of Chinghai and the Communist authorities, and the recent uprisings of Tibetans (July 1956) seem to be of major significance.

SN 829 Generally speaking, the average Chinese in the Northwest has neither a sense of common destiny or any sense of mission.

SN 829 571 The average Chinese peasant's life is concerned with one main and urgent problem: livelihood. Quite different is the situation among the intelligentsia, who are culture conscious to such a degree that it often results in a feeling of superiority over other peoples. Among those intellectuals there is a strong feeling and conviction that China has a grand mission in Asia - cultural and political leadership.

SN 563 [795] all Buddhists) they have a strong feeling of belonging together. Nevertheless the Mongols are fully aware that their former power is declining more and more every decade and that their pastures are constantly diminishing because of the encroachment of agriculture and Chinese migration pressure. The establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (to which the Edzin Gol and Alashan areas have recently been added) and the organization of several autonomous chou for the Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinghai, might restore to a small degree the hope for recovery of their lost strength and political power, a hope which has been stimulated during the Sino-Japanese war. In addition, the organization of those autonomies will certainly raise their feeling of security, and might east the widespread desperation of Mongolian leaders who have anticipated the final decline of the Mongols as an ethnic group and a linguistic unit because of rapid sinification and loss of pasture land, and therefore loss of cattle, the only life resource of the average Mongol. It is difficult to say what effect the Communist regime will have on the ethnic group of the Mongols. So far, the Mongolian indigenous culture has been fostered by the Communist regime, but there is little doubt that, when it comes, the complete transition of the Mongolian society into a Communistic society will not be carried out without resistance and ensuing hatred. It is unthinkable that the average Mongol, who for centuries has adhered to the simple pattern of nomadic life (owning cattle individually and only pastures collectively) will agree with the policy of bolshevization. It can be easily conceived that deprivation of their cattle will mean the end of the nomadic Mongolian society as such. What has been said about the Mongols may very well be true also for the Kazakhs and Kirghiz.

SN 563 668 ● 177

IV. Dominant Social Motives.

SN 181

The dominant social motive of the average citizen of the Northwest depends largely on his ethnic group affiliation. Starting with the majority, the Chinese, it should be repeated that they are diligent and industrious farmers whose whole energies must be used in order to maintain their families, who cooperatively toil in the fields and earn just enough to live on. In such a setup little room is left for cultural and religious ambitions; although ancestor worship is sincerely practiced it is difficult to say whether this kind of worship is a true religious phenomenon or only a reflection of the traditional respect toward elders and parents. The religious behavior

SN 181 771 [769]

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

HISTORICAL SETTING

N 631 **1. General History of Relations with China**

Northwest China, once a major administrative region of Communist China, is an arbitrary political union of widely dissimilar geographical areas inhabited by a conglomeration of diverse ethnic groups. At the eastern end of this vast wedge-shaped region is Shensi, which has been an integral part of China Proper throughout history and is inhabited almost exclusively by Chinese. Although it is only one-seventeenth of the total area, this single province holds almost half of the population of the Northwest. Sian, the provincial seat of Shensi, has been in centuries past and still is today China's political and military base for the control of the Northwest and has been the center for the diffusion of Chinese culture to the Northwest in the past and of Communist ideology in the present.

N 635 [162] N [633] [177] [668]

S 635 [131] [563]

At the western end of the Northwest region of China is the province of Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan. Its territory occupies half the area of the Northwest but its population is only a seventh of the total. Three-quarters of the inhabitants are Uighurs, a people Turkic in speech and Moslem in religion. The rest is divided among thirteen nationalities.

N 635

In the north is the now abolished province of Ninghsia, inhabited largely by Mongols. In the south is Chinghai (also known as Kokonor) with a heterogeneous population of Mongols, Chinese and Tibetans. The Gobi Desert, which pushes south to Ninghsia, and the highlands of Chinghai constricts the habitable area into an hourglass shape, forming a corridor connecting Shensi in the east and Sinkiang in the west. This is the province of Kansu.

N 175 487 S 175 487

A. The Role of the Kansu Panhandle

All traffic between China Proper and Turkestan has been funnelled through the narrow confines of this corridor. The ancient Silk Road started from its terminus at Sian (known in the past as Ch'ang-an) and wound its way, via the Kansu Corridor, into Chinese Turkestan where it branched into the northern and southern routes to bypass the towering Tienshan Mountains. The conquering armies of Han, T'ang and Ch'ing had marched out through this narrow passageway to assert the political rule of China over the desert wastes and oasis towns of Turkestan. Hordes of nomads, lured by the lush plains and opulent cities of China, have poured through this funnel to raid and pillage and, when successful, to found militaristic kingdoms. This was the route worn deep by the trudging feet of camel caravans bearing the tea and silk and porcelain of China to bazaars in the Near East and even to the markets of Byzantium and Rome. In the train of these caravans travellers have come into China, from the Buddhist missionary, Kumarajiva,

new oil plants at Tu-shan-tzu in Sinkiang. Undoubtedly, the exploitation of the Yü-men oil field of Kansu has been considerably increased in the last two years. At a conference on petroleum research, called in May, 1954, by the Ministry of Fuel, Popoff, a Russian professor, laid great emphasis on the development of Yü-men oil fields, where Russians have been working side by side with German, Czech, and Rumanian oil experts (KM Oct. 1, 1954). Towards the end of 1953 the Russian Atlas (sic!) was experimenting there on an improved method of oil exploitation which was to be introduced in 1954 (PD Feb. 9, and June 23, 1954).

Special emphasis on oil prospecting and drilling are given by the Communist Government. Throughout the nation, geological surveying and prospecting plans since 1953 have been the most inttensive in China's history. Total Government investment in surveying in the Northwest in 1953 was nearly seven times more than the previous year. Twice as many oil wells were planned to be sunk in 1953 as compared to 1952, while work on other mineral reserves topped previous years' quota by thirty-three percent.

The bureau in charge of prospecting and surveying mineral reserves in the Northwest trained nearly 2,000 workers in drilling, surveying, drawing, and analysis in 1953. (Geological Report, China Monthly Review, May, 1953).

The first drilling for oil was made some sixty years ago at Yen-chang in northern Shensi province. During the Anti-Japanese war, China spent large sums to equip the China National Petroleum Corporation's field at Yü-men in Kansu. At present, the major production is at Shih-you-ho near Yü-men in the most northwestern part of Kansu at the foot of the Nan-shan. There the possible oil-bearing formations extend 700 miles, with a width of some tens of miles. Seepages are known in four localities, but only a few anticlines have been developed. Drilling started in 1939, and the yield amounts to several thousand barrels a day. The oil has a fifteen percent paraffin base. Prospects in Sinkiang appear even more promising, with oil on both sides of the Tien-shan Mountain Range. Drilling at Wu-su, west of Urumchi and in the northern foothills of Tien-shan began in 1935, under Soviet direction. Its current yield is only a few hundred barrels a day. However, some new fields have been discovered and new wells drilled in other parts of the province.

Recently, both oil-extracting and refining industries have been growing rapidly. Refining facilities in northwest China with its five oil regions distributed in north Shensi, West Kansu, central Kansu, and Ho-hsi corridor and Sinkiang have been substantially extended. Petroleum development is one of

/Kansu Monguors/

N *563 have very scanty beards, and there is seldom any growth of hair M 142 on the body.

e. economic activities

N *563 The Mongours gave up their nomadic way of life and became farmers. They cultivate barley, wheat, peas, rapeseed, colza, hemp and potatoes. The second important economic resource is M [241] livestock, consisting of horses, cows, mules, pigs and sheep. [233] The Mongours are also good hunters and fishermen. The Mongours [433] now live in brick and mud houses resembling their former tent (yurt).

M [291] Until recently the Mongours wore their national costumes. [177] However, when the Communists took over they ordered them to [171] wear only Chinese clothing.

By religion, the Mongours are Lamaist-Buddhists.

2. Other groups

Besides the Mongours, there are Ölöts and Torguts living in Kansu. They are similar in all respects to the Olots and Torguts of Sinkiang.

C. The Mongols of Chinghai

1. General characteristics

Due to the new partition of the province, some of the Mongours N now belong to Chinghai Province. Very little is known about the [177] Eastern Mongols living around the Tsaidam and Kokonor areas. However, all explorers' reports say that they have become more and more Tibetanized and are forgetting their own Mongolian N [233] language. They are still pastoral nomads like the Ölots and the Torguts of Sinkiang.

N 2. Hordes

*563 When Tafel (between 1905 and 1908) travelled in the Chinghai 619 area he found the following groups of Mongols:
361 (1) Wang-ka or the horde of the Chinghai Wang, consisting of 150-
*[175] 350 families, of which one group nomadized on the Dulan-gol, west of the Kokonor, and the other group lived around the monasteries of Gomba-soma and Minia-ta;
(2) the horde of the Muri Wang, about 50 families, which nomadized on the upper course of the Ta-tung River;
(3) the horde of the Kukut Bei-le, about 200 families, which nomadized around the Serkhe-nor, northeast of the Tsaidam swamps;
(4) the horde of the Kurluk Bei-tse, about 800 families which nomadized around the Bagha Tsaidam area;
(5) the horde of the Merkhe Bei-tse westwards of 4; there is no information about population figures.
(6) the horde of Shui-hia Bei-tse in the valley above Bamba; there is no further information about population figures.
(7) the horde of the Gobi Gung, which nomadized in the area of Tankar;

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[127]

Amne-machin mountain range.

Written Tibetan	Chinghai dialect
nang-mo-bde-legś "good morning"	Tafel: nang-mo-de-leg Futterer: nåñ-mo-de-le
t'ugs-rje-ch'e "thank you"	Tafel: t'ŭr-je-ch'e Futterer: t'up-je-ch'e
k'yod-lam-na-bde-bar skyod-chig "happy continuation of your trip"	Tafel: k'yŏ-l m-na-de-bår- tyŏ-chig

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*563
As far as the pronunciation of skyod goes it varies from tyod, tchod, ktchod, tyŏ, tchŏ, to ktchŏ. Unfortunately there is almost no material available on the phonetics of the Chinghai dialect. The only attempt to deal with this matter has been made by Uray Geza who says, in his Kelet-Tibet-Nyelvjárásainak Osztályozása (Dissertationes sodalium instituti Asiae interioris, Budapestini, 1949), that the Tibetan stems beginning with the clusters py- became sh- and the clusters kr-, dr- and pr- always become ch-, e.g. s-phan "eye" is pronounced like shan, x-dre "devil" is pronounced like che, d-krig-s-pa "dark" is pronounced like chig-pa, s-sprang-po "beggar" is pronounced like chang-po.

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*563
The sedentary Tibetans very often speak Chinese as a second language, but the nomadic Tibetans rarely speak any other language than their native tongue, although some may understand Mongolian, since they nomadize in neighboring areas.

*668
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[191]
The Communist government is promoting literacy by publishing political pamphlets and elementary schoolbooks in written Tibetan. There is no doubt that the younger generation will become literate to a high degree. They also may become bilingual since Chinese is an obligaroty language for all minorities.

IV. Chinese Dialects in the Northwest

19
A preliminary linguistic survey has been made only within the territory of Shensi and Kansu in the northwestern part of China. There is fairly good material on the phonological structure of the dialects of the fifty districts in Shensi and two in Kansu. These Chinese dialects belong to the northwestern branch of the Mandarin dialect. They exhibit the phonological features of the Mandarin dialect, such as the complete loss of the final stops -p, -t, -k or -ʔ. Usually they have only four tones; in-p'ing, ang-p'ing, shang, and ch'ü. The words which originally had the ju-sheng tone have been redistributed into the other tones.

The dialects in this area are marked by the following phonological characteristics:

1) Existence of initial ŋ- and ɳ-.
2) Disappearance of the diphthong -ai.

*563 631 6) Muru Dzasak, 40 families, (Tafel: Da-tung Dzasak)
7) Charagolchin Dzasak, 4 families (Tafel: presumably Damba Dzasak)
8) Baga-nor Dzasak, 1 family (Tafel: ?)
9) Khalkha Dzasak, 3 families (Tafel: ?)
10) Tsunkuk Dzasak, 60 families (Tafel: probably Tsinkuk Gung)
11) Barun Dzasak, 280 families (Tafel: Barun)
12) Tsun Dzasak, 300 families (Tafel: Dzun)

3. Probable extinction

*563 [162] [199] According to M. Hermanns, the total population of the Chinghai Mongols does not exceed 18,000 people. Since the Mongols of the Chinghai region have very few children - two at the most - and since sinification as well as Tibetanization appears to be rapid, the extinction of the Chinghai Mongols is to be expected in the near future.

IV. The Tibetans of the Northwest

A. General Characteristics

The province of Chinghai is inhabited by sixty-six Tibetan tribes, called by the Chinese "tame" in contrast to the "wild" tribes inhabiting the Kokonor region.

Lattimore and Father Schram point out that the Tibetan tribes easily subdivide into new tribes which observe strict clan exogamy. The Tibetans are Lamaist-Buddhists of the Yellow Hat Sect in the northern districts and of the Red Hat Sect in the southern districts. Shamanism is also still existant among the Tibetans. Some Tibetans living in the district of Hsün-hua have become Moslems.

*563 77 195

B. Physical Characteristics

*563 142 The Tibetans belong to a race which is called protosinide. Their characteristic features are: middle to tall stature and very muscular. The legs are considerably longer than the legs of the Mongoloids. The color of the skin is light brown and the facial skin copperish red. The lips are thin. The nose is long and prominent. The head is large and long. Round heads appear only among the Ngo-loks. The face shows a sharp relief. Usually they lack the Mongoloid eyefold. Eye color is generally brown. Body hair is considerably stronger, thicker and denser than among the Chinese or Mongols.

C. Economic Activities

*563 241 233 The Tibetan are either nomads who breed yaks and sheep or farmers who cultivate oats, peas, wheat, cabbage, and turnips. They use the same agricultural tools as the Chinese farmers.

Unless the occupations of the minority are specialized and not coveted by members of the dominant group, there is always the phenomenon of the majority group attempting to usurp the callings or occupational opportunities of the minority group and hoping that the minority group eventually will leave the community. Under such conditions, antagonisms always exist between the two groups in the same farm community.

The Chinese in the predominantly Tibetan districts are organized in exactly the same way as the Chinese in the predominantly Chinese Moslem areas. Again the village is the important unit of organization, the village organization is integrated in the county, and the village authorities are answerable to the county magistrate. These Chinese villages are taxed far more heavily than the Tibetan villages. The Tibetan villages, in many aspects are similar to the Chinese villages. Generally, the Chinese villages are in predominantly Chinese sections while the Tibetan villages are in predominantly Tibetan country. But some of the Chinese villages are quite far up in Tibetan country. In their culture these conform more to the Tibetan pattern than to the Chinese. In both groups the village is of supreme importance as a social and political unit of organization. The villages are much alike in size, the average village having a population of between twenty and thirty families.

In organization and function the Chinese and Tibetan villages show differences. Within the organization of the Chinese village there is not only a compact family unit but a clan system as well. The sedentary Tibetans, on the other hand, have no clearly defined clan organization, and their family is much looser than among the Chinese. Nevertheless, the Chinese village organization permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas the Tibetan village communal activity completely overshadows individual activity. This is probably because the Chinese family and clan compete with the village organization, thereby acting as a check on the exercise of village authority. It may be that Chinese frontier life necessarily entails greater liberty of action and individual initiative. In everything related to communal properties and communal activities, as well as in all matters regulating the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a Chinese village community in the same area. In spite of these differences, the subsistence routine is substantially the same for the Chinese farmer and the Tibetan farmers, and the village of the one has a close resemblanc to that of the other.

Although there is a great deal of culture contact between the Chinese and Tibetans in the same areas, an interesting feature is that contact is quite one-sided. The agents, almost without exception, are Chinese. The contact can be called reciprocal only to the

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*563 degree that the Tibetan community as a whole exerts an influence
628 on the Chinese migrants within it. The movement of migrants is
*563 unilaterally from the Chinese communities into the Tibetan country.
628 The Tibetans go into Chinese sections to visit, but they do not attempt
167 to settle down and make their way among the people. Most of the
177 Chinese who go to the Tibetan sections intend to stay. This one-sided movement of migrants is attributable chiefly to two causes. Population pressure makes the fallow fields of the Tibetan villages very tempting to the land-hungry Chinese. Moreover, for a number of reasons, the Tibetan country is the traditional refuge for the Chinese of nearby communities whenever rebellion or banditry is rife. The Chinese, with their large families, constitute a population reservoir from which the overflow passes into any group which lacks a similarly strong population pressure. The Tibetans, and especially the village people of the Choni district in the Northwest, offer no such resistance, for unquestionably their population is
*563 decreasing. Then, the Tibetan country repeatedly has been a most
628 effective shelter for refugees from the Moslem rebellions and from
167 the disturbances caused by bandits and contending armies. In such
727 circumstances the closely-integrated Tibetan community acts more
177 promptly and efficiently to defend itself than does the Chinese community. By habit, the Tibetans are armed to an extent unknown among
[181] the Chinese. The Tibetans are rather soft-hearted toward refugees, especially if they are destitute. By Tibetan custom the right of refuge has been a basic one, and when it is reinforced by the claims of acquaintance and the functioning of the "guest-host system" this right of refuge can open a path into the most exclusive Tibetan communities.

*563 The process of contact between the Chinese and the Tibetans is
582 also contained within the mechanics of intermarriage, which is of
177 two kinds: the matrilocal, in which the Chinese man takes his place
[591] as son-in-law in the Tibetan home, and the patrilocal, in which through his wife's connections he is able to set up his own home in the Tibetan community. When a young Chinese is taken into a
*563 Tibetan home as a son-in-law, he naturally becomes as much like
177 a Tibetan as he can. If other factors do not bring him into further contact with Chinese culture, he may become very much of a Tibetan. His children will be brought up as Tibetans. After a generation of two only a Tibetan nickname may remain to indicate the Chinese ancestry in the family. However, when a Chinese man marries a Tibetan wife and establishes his own home, he generally attempts to set up a Chinese home and to maintain the Chinese mode of living and outlook. This is true especially if any Chinese members of his family - mother, brothers, or other relatives live with him. Thus, the family serves to push the Chinese frontier into the Tibetan country. A single Chinese living in a Tibetan community sooner

*563 or later is assimilated. But if a Chinese family goes there to live
177 it will remain Chinese and will attract other Chinese families. After
[167] a few decades the whole community becomes Chinese.
[621]

In addition to familial cross-contacts, there are others of a
*563 strictly economic character. Certain craftsmen, such as carpenters,
463 blacksmiths, and millers, very easily obtain a foothold in a Tibetan
177 community. They find very poor competition from most of the
621 Tibetan artisans, although once in a while there is a Tibetan workman of outstanding skill and reputation. Much of the village trade also will gradually pass into the hands of the Chinese traders. Also, poor Chinese come to the Tibetan villages as laborers, lumbermen and charcoal burners.

*563 An isolated Chinese migrant in the midst of Tibetan influence
167 and environment undoubtedly would become Tibetan. But actually
621 this situation does not exist. Behind the individual Chinese and
177 reinforcing him in successive stages is sustained population pressure from the Chinese country. One by one, others follow his lead and press into the Tibetan community through the opening he has made. Once a number of Chinese families are established in a village, they are sure to become dominant simply as a result of the differential birth rates. Slowly the community becomes increasingly like a Chinese village. Finally, Chinese influence is paramount because the agents who exert that influence and spread that culture have a definite advantage over the Tibetans. They can talk the language of Government officials and wealthy merchants and traders, and they have superior business acumen and industry. The village oil-press or grist-mill eventually passes into the hands of a Chinese if, as is more usual, he has not started it himself. So the Chinese members of the village community forge to the front. After a certain length of time, a once-Tibetan village will become very much like a Chinese community. Even when the village has become all "Chinese", however, the quiver shrines of the mountain gods at the highest mountain peaks still are tended and replenished annually. Thus certain aspects of Tibetan culture and religious observance persist despite the otherwise complete transformation of the Tibetan village into a Chinese one.

*563 There is little information about social classes and land tenure
565 in the far Northwest. However, the general impression is that in
423 the central and eastern parts of Shensi and in the important cities of Kansu, where the population is mainly Chinese, the patterns of social distinction and land distribution are similar to those of China
[184] Proper. The Chinese in these areas and in all the other provinces have fundamentally the same culture, with only some minor local variations. For this reason, the reader is referred to the section on Social Structure in the General Handbook.

121 183 custom is "the customary way of doing things." Specifically, custom is an established norm practiced and repeated by a multitude of generations. It is closely associated with folkways and mores, but it designates the traditional, autonomic, mass character of both.

121 181 Social values are defined as modes of conduct regarded as matters of common welfare by an effective consensus of the group, they are such matters as prove to be meaningful, systematic ideas, and become effectively invested principles which guide behavior. Above all, they are matters of convention invested with effect and meaning for all participants.

It should be pointed out that any value is a preference. We must bear in mind that cultural standardization defines and limits choices, and duration of values depends upon the prestige of values it carries.

II. The Region and the People

121 128 Prior to the discussion of the region and the people, it is necessary to call attention to the fact that the general discussion of this section and the following section cover only the pre-Republican period and the period of the Chinese Nationalist administration on the mainland of China. Knowledge of social change in this region under Communist control is lacking, and there is no reliable information pertaining to the true picture of living conditions there. According to Communist propaganda * [668] there have been tremendous improvements in every aspect of the people's livelihood. These "improvements," however, do not necessarily bring about a basic change in habits, social customs or traditions. No conclusions can be ventured here.

121 * 563 In the Northwest region of China one finds Han Chinese, Chinese Moslems, Turks, Mongols and Tibetans. People of different races, though living under identical geographical conditions, each group constructs its homes on the traditional pattern handed down by its ancestors. Each retains much of the old family traditions. The altered conditions called for by circumstances are mostly superficial.

For centuries the people in this area have been largely nomadic, i.e., the Mongols and Tibetans. Their life is simple and mobile; the tribesmen cling to tent living. Those who mix with • [177] the Han Chinese have assimilated some aspects of Chinese culture. For the most part the Han Chinese of the area are poor farmers or traveling merchants who carry on caravan trade. The Chinese Moslems in Chinghai and Sinkiang may be nomadic or sedentary; they cultivate land where the soil is fit for farming, or they move with the seasons to pasture for their animals. In Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia, the Moslems who live among the

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

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making of a will, the giving of alms, rites at the grave, and the recitation of prayers and giving of alms on certain days after death, and on the first, second and third anniversaries.

The Moslems have their own burial grounds. The mounds raised over the graves are rectangular, not round as in the case of the Chinese. The top of the filled grave must be at least five inches (half a Chinese foot) above the surrounding earth, lest the location be forgotten. A stone may be erected in front of the grave, but the name of the deceased may not be engraved upon it.

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e. Festivals and holidays

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Many of the religious festivals are more pagan than Moslem, especially those which are seasonal and therefore not connected with the Moslem calendar. Their celebrations are merely popular gatherings for feasting and enjoyment.

The Moslem New Year (Yengi Yil) celebrates the breaking of the Ramadan fast. The festival takes place during the first three days of the tenth month by the Moslem calendar. Special services are held in the mosques. The people bathe and dress in their best clothes. It is a time of greeting, well-wishing, feasting, visiting and gift-giving. For the Moslems and the Chinese alike, the New Year celebration is the greatest holiday of the year.

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5. Present day conditions

According to a speech delivered by Burkhan, chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the China Islamic Association, at the Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, on October 18, 1952, the Islam religion as well as the customs and habits of its followers are fully respected by the Communist regime. Chinese Moslems are free to practice their faith without interference. It is also said that official circulars from Peking have ordered the people to continue the observance of their important festivals. The tax on the slaughter of cattle for Moslem consumption is abolished, and official holidays are granted on Moslem holidays.

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In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law, the mosques may retain their land holdings if the local populace so desire. It is also reported that when the land reform movement was carried out in the Northwest, the land of the mosques was in most cases left untouched. There was also a report of an organized Hajji to Mecca in 1952, which for reasons unknown failed to reach its goal. Special government regulations give Moslem workers in public organizations and educational institutions time off on the more important religious festival days. In military units, factories and schools, consideration is also given to the habits and customs of cadres, soldiers, workers and students of the Moslem faith.

/The Tibetans/

*563 race, the Hsi-fans of the country west of T'ao-chao speak the
[197] Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. They come into contact
[197] with the Koko Nor Mongols farther north, whom they bully and
[648] plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are being pushed back everywhere along the northern borders of China by Chinese agriculturalists, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own
[181] against the Chinese colonists. The northeastern Tibetans are truculent and independent as compared to the Mongols, and they take readily and successfully to farming.

[142] There appear to be two physical types in Tibet, the short, round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall Aryan type with prominent features. The latter type is common among the Tibetans of
[291] Amdo. The eastern Tibetan, even though he is in Chinese dress,
[077] may be readily recognized by his peculiar habit of standing with
[516] his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

[181] On the whole, these people are hardy, independent, and cautious with strangers, but they are also notably hospitable.

2. Patterns of living

*563 a. Dwelling

342 Like all nomads, the Tibetans have no fixed homes. They live in rectangular tents usually made of yak hair instead of felt, with wooden framework. The bottoms of the tents are made fast with iron pins or animal horns. Mud, stone or dry dung is built up around the tent to keep off wind and snow.

*563 The interior arrangement varies little from tent to tent. A
342 mud stove is in the middle, a Buddha image at the left side. On
352 wooden shelves along the walls are chests and boxes where food
353 and clothing are stored. Skin bags of butter, tsamba or flour, and saddles and rifles also hang along the walls. Shelves on the right side hold pans, water buckets, kettles, bowls, cups, a
[237] stone mill and a few skin bags. Near the door there is usually a
[372] heap of dried ox dung for fuel.

b. Food

*563 Farm products do not grow in the cold climate and high alti-
262 tude, and transportation is difficult. Thus there is little variety
[241] in foodstuffs, and eating and drinking are simple functions. The
[489] daily fare is beef, mutton and other domestic meats, fresh and sour milk, butter, cheese, noodles, tsamba (parched barley meal) and tea.

*563 There are no regular meal times in most households. In
264 winter when the days are short, they may eat three meals a day; in spring and summer, perhaps four or five. During the day they
[262] eat tsamba and sour milk. The evening meal is noodles with boiled beef or mutton, though the poor can have noodles and beef less often.

Rich and poor eat with their hands, though the Tu-kung (chief

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/Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang/

"Play your dunbra, dance and sing,
People of different nationalities are now closely knit,
Let's sing the praise of Mao Tse-tung,
Ai, let's sing of Mao Tse-tung!
Our beautiful fields and gardens, our dear native land!"
(Songs of New China, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1953.)

II. Artistic and Intellectual Expression among the Tibetans of Northwest China

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A. Introduction

Chinghai is the most heavily Tibetan-populated area in Northwest China. Culturally, it is very much a part of Tibet proper, although being a border region, its Tibetan inhabitants have come often into close contact with the Chinese and have been greatly influenced by them. The most famous of the Tibetan cultural centers in the area are the Kumbum and Labrang monasteries, where much traditional Lamaist literature and art have been found and are still being produced. The great majority of the Tibetans in the area, however, are members of nomadic tribes, who are largely ignorant of the many cultural treasures of the monasteries. These tribes are the seat of Tibetan folk cultures—song, dance and epic literature. (The distinction between the strictly religious artistic and intellectual expressions and the unwritten folk culture is present through Tibet, and is not peculiar to this area alone.)

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B. Tibetan Literature

Tibetan literature is almost exclusively religious in character. It centers around the religious Buddhist texts translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan, and attempts to explain them, analyze them, relate the lives of saints, eulogize convents and glorify events which are an expression of religious feelings. There are not many secular works, as traditionally the culture was, and has largely remained, the privilege of the monks. The center of Tibetan culture is to be found in the monasteries, and the scholars are the lamas reared and trained in these institutions.

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The Lamaist scriptures, which are faithful translations from Sanskrit texts (Indian, Kashmiri and Nepalese), and a few also from Chinese, were made mostly in the eighth and ninth, eleventh and thirteenth centuries A.D. None of these Tibetan translations, however, seem to have been printed until comparatively recent times.

The Lamaistic scriptures consist of two great collections, the canon and the commentaries (the kah-gyur and the Tangyur). The great code, the Kah-gyur, or "The Translated Com-

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

*563 538 Tibetans. There are a few versions of the fabulous history of Gasar, of which the version told in Kham is most frequently recited. There are several manuscripts of the Gasar legend, but none of them is complete. The Gasar saga is mostly recited orally, by the wandering bards, who can recite long passages from memory, and by the people themselves, as every Tibetan can recite a few verses of the Gasar epos. It is particularly popular among the nomadic Tibetans. The legend seems to have had its origin in the Pon time, prior to the conversion of Tibet to Buddhism.

*563 532 C. Tibetan Art

[177] Tibetan art is divided into two categories, the religious and the secular. The influence of India can be recognized in the first category, while Chinese influence is dominant in the things pertaining to worldly life, as the cultured society in Tibet modeled its manners upon those of the court of Peking, which for centuries occupied the suzerian position.

The religious art is expressed mostly in works of sculpture and painting. The most popular and unusual of the creations of the Tibetan artists have been the tankas. The tankas are scroll paintings, or occasionally embroidered pictures, which first came to use in about the tenth century. Before that time, painting was mostly confined to frescoes on the walls of temples or monasteries or in caves. These tankas are hung in the temples and at family altars in homes. They are also carried by the Lamas in religious processions. They often portray a deity, group of deities, or scenes from the life of Buddha or the saints. Often they depict stories which the Lamas use to illustrate their sermons.

The tankas are usually painted on canvas, sometimes on [792] paper, rarely on silk. The artists are Lamas, who spend many years in training before they attempt to work independently.

Images are also made for religious purposes. They can be of gold, silver, copper or bronze; or sometimes they are of wood, stone, clay or butter. They are often studded with turquoise, coral and pearls. The artists either sculpture them by hand or make them in molds and finish them by hand.

The votive tablets are another category of religious objects which requires the work of special artists for its production. [792] They are made by the Lamas, after a set pattern from which they are not allowed to deviate. These tablets are sometimes sold to the worshippers or pilgrims, or they may be made by order of wealthy donors and presented to a particular temple. The cruder ones are made of clay, with the figure of the deity or group of deities impressed on the face. More elaborate tablets are polychromed and gilded. A few are made of bronze,

/The Tibetans/

*563 532 copper or silver. The clay votive tablets are made in molds, and finished and colored by hand. The metal tablets are also made in molds and are finished with hand tools.

Other ritual objects are made by the Lama artists, such as the cups for offerings of butter water, incense and perfume; objects for the altar (such as holy water vases), amulets and charms. The technique for making these ritual objects and the materials used are prescribed, the Buddhist canon containing the rules for making these objects.

[792] The Kumbum monastery in Chinghai is particularly noted for its work in copper and other metals.

*563 532 294 Other objects which require skilled artists and craftsmen are the robes and masks used by the Lama dancers in the mystery plays on festival days. Especially embroidered and brocaded robes of bright colors are prepared for the actors. Masks are constructed to fit over the head and rest on the shoulders of the dancers. Some masks are very elaborate and grotesque. The brocaded robes are Chinese in origin, but the masks and headdresses are Tibetan. [777]

*563 531 532 415 352 Objects of daily use employed by the common people, such as interior fittings and furnishings of houses, windowframes, tables, carpets and food vessels, are often made and decorated by skilled artisans. They all bear a strong influence of Chinese motifs. The rugs in Tibetan houses exhibit patterns which are derived from Chinese prototypes. A favorite color scheme of these rugs is a combination of light blue, warm brown and white. The little tea tables found in Tibetan homes are called chogtse. Those which are not plain are either painted gaily with bunches of flowers on flat panels, or, more rarely, carved with dragons and then painted. Most of the eating utensils, such as bowls, pots, jugs, cups and teapots, carry interesting designs. [791] Shoes are usually skillfully decorated, and so are other works of leather like mule trappings.

*563 533 792 D. Music and Dance

Music and dance play an important part in the religious worship, as well as in the lighter amusements of life. The classical music of the temples consists of a solemn though animated style of chanting and of orchestral interludes, played with long copper trumpets, with the rhythm supplemented by a multitude of percussion instruments. The hymns are always sung by memory, but there also exists written forms of them. The notation is in the nature of a graph of the rising and falling voice; large curves convey the basic tunes, while smaller loops represent melodic ornamentation. The words of the songs are articulated with great clarity and are given the right stress while the bodies of the monks sway gently to the rhythm.

far more complex and subtle figures of the troupes of professional dancers.

It is in the sacred mystery plays (commonly known in the West as "devil dances") that the art of Tibetan dancing reaches its heights. It is part of the regular ceremonial of the church, given at certain seasons of the year. In the large monasteries, hundreds of monks participate in these dances. The smaller monasteries also have their dancing monks and costumes for these mystery plays. The dances usually portray a story, the story always being religious, such as the victory of the heavenly forces over the evil ones. The costumes worn are magnificent, the dresses being made of Chinese silk brocade and embroidery with underskirts banded in red and yellow, the two sacred colors. In addition to the presentation of the heavenly figures, some of the men are dressed as skeletons and demons. At the culmination of the dance, to represent the overthrow of the evil forces, effigies representing them are torn to pieces.

III. Shen-Kan-Ning, the Cradle of Chinese Communist Literature

The Shen-Kan-Ning border area with its center at Yenan was for a period the leading and most advanced region of all Communist activities. Even though cultural propaganda was not yet stressed to the same degree as in the period after 1949, most of the patterns of future procedure were already worked out there and then. This pertains in particular to the development of propaganda dramas on a popular level, both for the benefit of the peasants and for the army. The effectiveness of presenting to an unsophisticated audience its own problems in an inflammatory way through the medium of drama was not a discovery of the Chinese Communists. In the framework of the Ting-hsien experiment the same thing had been done in the late 1920's and early 1930's to arouse the political awareness of the Ting-hsien population. Hsiung Fu-hsi (see General Handbook) was the principal author of these popular and frequently impressive plays. As in other cases the Communists were swift in beclouding this ancestry of their propaganda plays, and, when questioned about it, made some disdainful remarks about the bourgeois character of Hsiung and the entire Ting-hsien experiment. In this field too, their political media had to be presented as being of their own creation.

Actually, political dramatics were cultivated in the Kiangsi period, but little emphasis was given to them then and in the earlier Yenan days. It was only with the outbreak of the Japanese war and the influx of experienced Chinese writers from the major cities that the movement gained momentum. Prominent

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

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among those who promoted this movement during the earlier war years was Ting-ling (see General Handbook), whose dramatic team was particularly active before army audiences. Further impetus was derived from the foundation of the Lu-hsün Academy of Arts, which also had a drama department. Ts'ao Yü and Ma Chien-ling are two of the more frequently produced authors.

The whole movement was streamlined, however, only in 1942 after Mao Tse-tung's famous speech on the "Problems of Art and Literature" (see General Handbook). The directive given therein to link up artistic activities with popular traditions was followed and, at least in name, the yang-ko movement gave contour and direction to the dramatic arts from then on. The yang-ko, literally "rice sprouting song," was a widespread and popular form of dance, songs—frequently antiphonies—and simple thanksgiving plays in the rural areas. Again the discovery of the usefulness of this tradition for contemporary propaganda purposes was not of Communist priority; it had been used in similar ways in the Ting-hsien experiment.

Very little but the name remained of the popular yang-ko tradition under Communist moulding. Most of their propaganda plays for rural and army consumption, whatever their topics and whatever their form, were called yang-ko. The number of so-called yang-ko pieces composed and produced in Yenan is legion. The most famous of them is, of course, "The White-Haired Girl," the libretto for which was written in early 1945 by members of the Lu-hsün Academy of Arts (see General Handbook).

Other playwrights, particularly Ma Chien-ling, developed the regional style of the traditional opera, the so-called ch'in-ch'iang, into an instrument of Communist propaganda. Ma's first play in this tradition is called "Bloody Enmity," and was written in 1943, the enemy being the Kuomintang and not the Japanese. His second play, entitled "Everybody is Happy," was written in early 1944. Its topic is the conversion of an opium smoker and lazybones into a useful and productive member of the rural masses. This was followed in 1946 by the play called "Save the Peace," which is put into the take-over situation after the Japanese surrender, and in which the conversion of Kuomintang soldiers is the main topic; and in 1947 by the play "The Hate of the Poor People," a civil war play in which the objects of hate are, of course, Chiang Kai-shek, the "feudalistic" gentry and American "imperialism." It is worthy of note that at that early date the Communists came out into the open with their anti-American slogans in a context in which they believed themselves to be, and were, unobserved.

The appeal of casting propaganda plays in the opera style was

536 strong for several reasons. Not only was the entire population
*668 familiar with this style to the point of knowing from memory a
• 179 large repertory of traditional plays; the splendor of the costumes, falsetto singing and accompanying acrobatics were features in which any audience rejoiced. For that reason not only the local theatre style but also the Peking opera were cannibalized. An Institute of Research on the Peking Opera was founded at Yenan, the function of which was to remould classical operas along Communist propaganda lines. Particularly plays in the tradition of the great novel, Shui-hu (All Men Are Brothers), lend themselves to this type of recasting.

538 The story-teller's tale was also adapted to contemporary
*668 use. Perhaps the most famous of Communist epics in this style
179 is the story of Wang Kuei and Li Hsiang-hsiang, which was written at Yenan in 1945 by Li Chi. The author is not a poet, but has won himself a name as a Communist theorist since the 1920's. He makes use in this story of the rather freely modulated and crudely rhymed seven-beat line of the popular ballad for a story in which the landlord, who is a bloodhound as well as a lecher, is finally disposed of by Communist soldiers.

Another author who worked in this genre is T'ien Chien. His "Song of the Carter," written in 1946, tells the story of an oppressed, poor peasant who, after having received indoctrination from Eighth Route Army people, succeeds in organizing peasant resistance against landlord oppression, and in the course of this action also gains the allegiance of his sweetheart.

After 1949, the Shen-Kan-Ning region lost its leading place in literature and the arts to the major cities, particularly Peking. The general trend, however, developed during this period and remained influential in all later production (see General Handbook).

arrangement of the Kanjur but starts, strangely enough, with the most difficult chapters, the abhidharma, metaphysics (Tib.: C'os-mnon-pa, clear doctrine), and difficult sutras. Each student gets an additional private tutor, who explains difficult passages of the matter under study.

When the weather permits, teaching is conducted in the open in the so-called chör-ra. Otherwise instruction takes place in a temple hall.

An important part of instruction is frequent disputations between the teacher-monks and the students, under the supervision of the abbot, khan-po. These loquatious duels give occasion for the students to show how much they know and how much they have memorized.

In the course of time the students are taught ts'ad (logic), bzo (technique), rtsis (astrology), snan ṅags (rhetoric), sgra (grammar) and adul-ba (monastic rules). After having mastered the whole material the student receives the degree of dka-bcu (a man who has passed the ten examinations).

To complete the work of the philosophical college takes more than a decade. Then the dka-bcu can either procede to the next college to gain the title of snags-rams-pa (master of the tantric sciences) or to another monastery where other famous teachers are found.

To receive the title of snags-rams-pa, the monk must study large parts of the Tanjur, a gigantic 225 volume collection of theological, philological, ethical, alchemistic tractates and a tremendous amount of occult tantras.

Another center of monastic studies was Labrang in Kansu, one of the foremost monasteries of the Yellow Sect. This monastery is divided into what might be called six different colleges. In the first, known as Wen-hsi-t'ang, five different sutras are taught. The second college is primarily concerned with the continuation of the studies in the first, but the difficulty of the curriculum increases. In the fifth and sixth colleges the esoteric sutras are taught. There are separate colleges for sciences of medicine. Most monks, however, never learned more than a few prayers. The Labrang monastery showed some concern with modern times by introducing courses in animal husbandry and the manufacture of agricultural by-products. Like other monastic academies, however, it has remained primarily a center of religious learning.

B. Nationality Education under the Republic

The period of the Republic was characterized by the fact that the government attempted to bring the Chinese educational system as far as possible into the area of the nationalities. Education became one factor in the general policy of assimilation.

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The plan was to enforce four years of compulsory education in lower elementary schools, and a great effort was made to establish new schools in all the major centers of the nationalities. In Sinkiang, however, this development had not yet superseded the importance of the mosque schools. Figures (for 1941) on the number of schools and on school attendance are as follows:

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Table 1

No. of Schools and Students in Sinkiang, 1941*

	Schools	Students		
		Male	Female	Total
Chinese Public Schools	236	9,461	1,979	11,430
Mosque Schools	1152	62,198	12,982	75,180
Total	1,388	71,659	14,961	86,610

* (Hsü Ch'ung-hao, Hsin-chiang chih-lüch, 1944, pp. 232-233.)

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According to another source, the schools were mostly established and operated by the cultural associations of various nationalities in Sinkiang. These cultural associations maintain offices in most of the cities of Sinkiang, with headquarters in Urumchi. They were supported by the ahungs, the village head men, living buddhas, princes and native chieftains, and they had a greater influence upon the promotion of education in Sinkiang than the provincial bureau of education. The number of schools operated by these cultural associations and the number of students enrolled in the schools in the year 1938 were as follows:

Table 2

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Schools Operated by Cultural Associations in Sinkiang, 1938*

	Schools	Students
Uighur Cultural Associations	1,540	89,804
Kazakh Cultural Associations	275	14,322
Moslem Cultural Associations	1	44
Mongolian Cultural Associations	24	917
Total	1,840	105,087

*(Ch'en Chi-ying, Hsin-chiang Niao-k'an, Changsha, 1941, p. 36f.)

The Uzbeks, Tatars and Kuei-hua (White Russians) also have cultural associations which operate schools. Statistics about them, however, are not available. It is possible that there is a

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

873 college level:
874 Hsining Normal College, Hsining, Chinghai
Northwest Normal College, Lin-hsia, Kansu
Su-chou Normal College, Chiu-ch'uan, Kansu
Sui-ning Normal College, Huang-ch'ü-ch'iao, Ninghsia
A T'ien-shan Normal College was being planned for Sinkiang.

874 The vocational schools that existed in 1946 were:
Ning-hsia Vocational School, Ninghsia City, Ninghsia
Chinghai Vocational School, Nieh-yuan, Chinghai
Labrang Young Lama Vocational School, Hsia-ho, Kansu
Yü-shu Vocational School, Yü-shu, Chinghai

872 563 The Mongols in Ninghsia had two primary schools which served the purpose of vocational schools, both at Ting-yuan-ying for the Edsingol Banner. (Ministry of Information, Border Education, 1948).

871 B. Education in the Shen-Kan-Ning Border Area
668 The Communists in the Shen-Kan-Ning border area had their own educational system. This is described by Edgar Snow as follows:
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"It should be explained that under the emergency Soviet educational system there were three sections: institutional, military and social. The first was run more or less by the Soviets, the second by the Red Army, the third by Communist organizations. Emphasis in all of them was primarily political—even the littlest children learning their first characters in the shape of simple revolutionary slogans, and then working forward into stories of conflict between the Reds and the Kuomintang, landlords and peasants, capitalists and workers, and so on, with plenty of heroics about the Young Communists and the Red Army, and promises of an earthly paradise of the Soviet future.

"Under institutional education the Reds already claimed to have established about two hundred primary schools, and they had one normal school for primary teachers, one agricultural school, a textile school, a trade-union school of five grades, and a Party school, with some four hundred students. Courses in all these lasted only about six months.

"Greatest emphasis naturally was on military education, and here very much had been achieved in two years, despite all the handicaps of the little beleaguered State. There were the Red Army Academy, and the cavalry and infantry schools, already described. There was a radio school, and a medical school, which was really for training nurses. There was an engineering school, where the students actually got the rudimentary training of apprentices. Like the whole Soviet organization itself, everything was very provisional and designed primarily as a kind of

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

rear-line activity to strengthen the Red Army and provide it with new cadres. Many of the teachers were not even middle-school graduates. What was interesting was the collective use of whatever knowledge they had. These schools were really Communist not only in ideology, but in the utilization of every scrap of technical experience they could mobilize, to 'raise the cultural level.'

"Even in social education the Soviet aims were primarily political. There was no time or occasion to be teaching farmers literature or flower arrangement. The Reds were practical people. To the Lenin Clubs, the Young Communist Leagues, the Partisans, and the village Soviets they sent simple, crudely illustrated Shih-tsu, or 'Know Characters,' texts, and helped mass organizations form self-study groups of their own, with some Communist or literate among them as a leader. When the youths, or sometimes even aged peasants, began droning off the short sentences, they found themselves absorbing ideas along with their ideographs. Thus, entering one of these little 'social education centres' in the mountains, you might hear these people catechizing themselves aloud:

"'What is this?'

"'This is the Red Flag.'

"'What is this?'

"'This is a poor man.'

"'What is the Red Flag?'

"'The Red Flag is the flag of the Red Army.'

"'What is the Red Army?'

"'The Red Army is the army of the poor men!'

"And so on, right up to the point where, if he knew the whole five hundred or six hundred characters before anyone else, the youth could collect the red tassel or pencil or whatever was promised." (Edgar Snow: Red Star Over China, 1938, pp. 254-257.)

Early attempts to promote education by making it compulsory and by replacing the Chinese script with a system of phonetic Latinization had to be abandoned again.

In later years the Anti-Japanese University and the Lu-hsün Art College were their major institutions of higher learning. During the war several colleges were merged into Yenan University, which then was composed of a College of Administration, a College of Natural Sciences and a College of Art and Literature. The courses in the first two colleges took three years and the Art and Literature course, two years. Earlier attempts to duplicate the more formal curricula of Nationalist universities had been given up and education was "brought into harmony with the actual conditions of the people under the New Democracy." In the 1940's, Yenan University was one of the

strongholds of the movement for the remolding of ideology within the party (Cheng-feng Movement). Training of cadres was its main purpose. (G. Stein, The Challenge of Red China, 1945, 260-67)

Attached to the Anti-Japanese University at Yenan was the College of Nationalities to train youths of racial minorities from Inner Mongolia and the Northwest to be Communist cadres.

III. The Communist Period

A. Chinese Education in the Northwest

1. The general trend of changes

After the Communist take-over the educational system was initially left more or less untouched. Teachers and students, however, were constantly mobilized to participate in the movements led by the government and the party. This additional political activity meant not only an interruption of the regular educational program, but also an amount of overwork detrimental to the health of the students. [Hsüeh-hsi, Vol. 4, No. 11, (1951, September 16), p. 37, and 1952 Jen-min Shou-ts'e, p. 449. The latter quoted the resolution of the State Council on July 13, 1951, concerning the health condition of the students.]

Even after it was realized that this state of affairs conflicted with the purposes of education, it was never entirely remedied. As late as 1956, complaints were heard about the constant political interference in academic work.

By a resolution at the ninety-seventh meeting of the State Council on August 10, 1951, the old system of education was remolded (See General Handbook, Education). Within the new system much emphasis was given to Leisure Time and Short Course Schools on the primary and secondary levels for older students and adults. This program, however, has in the meantime come under heavy criticism, as it did not achieve its aims and absorbed the time of workers and peasants needed in production.

One significant aspect of the new system is that graduates of higher educational institutions do not have a free choice of professions, but are placed by the government wherever it deems fit. In fact, it is one part of the gigantic program of slave labor.

The tendency of students, condoned and incited by the Communists in pre-Communist times, to behave in a "revolutionary" way has recently been curbed by a set of strict disciplinary rules, which have been called "New Confucianism" by one writer:

Basic Rules for the Middle School Student. (Promulgated by the Ministry of Education on May 13, 1955.)

1. Study diligently to make yourself strong in health, in class work and in character. Be ready to serve the fatherland

and the people.

2. Honor the national flag. Love warmly your fatherland and the people's leader.

3. Obey the school rules, follow the instruction and guidance of the principal and the teachers.

4. Arrive at school on time. Attend classes on time. Never be tardy, nor leave early, nor be absent without a good reason.

5. Bring all necessary books and supplies to school every day. Have ready all necessary articles for each class.

6. Sit straight and square at classes, concentrate on listening to the lecture. Never talk freely or do anything on your own. Never enter or leave the classroom without permission of the teacher.

7. To answer the teacher's question you must stand up. Only when you have the teacher's permission may you sit down. To ask the teacher a question you must first raise your hand.

8. Review diligently, and finish on time all home work.

9. Respect the principal and teacher. When the class starts you must stand up to show your respect to the teacher. Do the same thing when the class is dismissed. When you meet the principal or the teacher outside the school you must salute him.

10. Love your schoolmates earnestly. Help one another and be united.

11. Respect and love your parents. Love and protect your brothers and sisters. Help your folks in housework.

12. Respect the older generation, and old people. Love children and care for the weak and the sick. Yield your seat on a train and your right of way on the street.

13. Be earnest, humble and polite. Do not lie, do not curse, do not fight. Do not disturb other people's work, study or sleep.

14. Do not smoke, do not drink liquor, do not gamble, do not take other people's articles without their permission. Do not do things harmful to yourself and others.

15. Positively drill and strengthen your body. Keep your body, clothes, room and the public places clean.

16. Obey public orders. Love and protect public property.

17. Love and defend the honor of your class and school.

18. Carry your student card with you all the time and take care not to lose it.

Discipline in schools had tended to become harsh before the promulgation of these rules. For instance, in Tso-shui, Shensi, a grade school teacher ordered tardy students to kneel on the floor and to carry bowls of water on their heads. In Ling-t'an, Kansu, a grade school principal ordered all the children of his school to line up and spit in the face of a child he wished to punish. In some schools, the teachers organized "accusation meetings" to punish the children. In some, "courts" were estab-

lished to pass out judgments. Cases of suicide among students thus treated have been reported.

Another factor which influenced education was the austerity movement, which cut deeply into the already meager equipment, facilities and supplies of the schools. For instance, in Shensi some schools had provided some teachers with single rooms with twenty square meters of floor space, or about thirteen by fifteen and one-half feet, to serve both as bedroom and office. This was criticized as luxurious and wasteful, and the size of a teacher's room was reduced to three and one-half square meters or less than six feet square. The size of campuses was also cut down mercilessly. A well-known educator, Feng Yu-lan, recently complained: "When a professor finds enough space to lay down his body, he would find no more room to lay down his books." (Jen-min Jih-pao, Peking, January 15, 1956.)

Claims that school attendance has greatly increased are numerous in the Communist press. The figures given, however, are either meaningless or contradictory, so no attempt has been made here to trace this increase.

Extra-curricular activities included a summer camp for the students in the Northwest, which took place at Mei-hsien, Shensi, from August 1 to 31, 1952. The participants were selected from students of different places, including 150 from Shensi, 110 from Kansu, 100 from Sian, 20 from Ninghsia, 20 from Chinghai, an indefinite number from Sinkiang and 80 from the colleges and universities. To be selected, a student had to be: progressive in thought; good in school work; active in all kinds of social activities inside and outside the school; healthy, without contagious diseases. Girl students and students of the minority groups had priority. The whole program of the camp was sponsored by the New Democratic Youth League.

Athletic competitions are also sponsored. From August 10 to 17, 1953, there was a Northwest China track and field meeting at Sian. Gathered for the competition were 351 athletes from 12 nationalities, representing 5 provinces and a municipality.

2. Higher education

Institutions of higher education in the Northwest under the Communists can be divided roughly into three groups. The first group includes universities and colleges in the normal sense. The second includes political training institutes. The third includes the institutions for the minority nationalities.

The following institutions were listed in 1952:

Northwest University, Sian, Shensi
Lanchou University, Lanchou, Kansu
Northwest Engineering College, Hsien-yang, Shensi
Northwest Agricultural College, Wu-kung, Shensi
Northwest Normal College, Lanchou, Kansu

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Northwest Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Medicine College, Lanchou, Kansu
Northwest Art College, Sian, Shensi
Northwest Medical College, Sian, Shensi
Northwest Russian Language Junior College
Tihua Russian Language School, Urumchi, Sinkiang
Kansu Industrial Junior College, Lanchou, Kansu

In July, 1952, these institutions held united entrance examinations at Sian and Nan-cheng, in Shensi; Lanchou and T'ien-shui in Kansu; Hsi-ning in Chinghai; Yin-ch'uan (Ninghsia); and Urumchi in Sinkiang. According to regulations, besides graduates from regular middle schools, candidates claiming to have "equivalent educational standards" were also admitted. Cadres were given special priority.

Subjects in the examinations were: Chinese, mathematics, chemistry, Chinese and foreign history and geography, physics, political common sense, biology and a foreign language (Russian or English). Cadres were exempted from the foreign language examination.

In 1952, the Communist government started a system of scholarships for every student in the institutions of higher education. This system was changed in October, 1955, and scholarships are now issued only selectively; children of party cadres and of the minority groups have priority.

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In April, 1955, the Communists announced the establishment of Sinkiang Medical College at Urumchi. The professors were transferred there from the First Medical School in Shanghai. A New China News Agency report from Urumchi, dated April 19, 1955, reads:

"Sinkiang's new medical college has announced it is ready to enroll 250 students of various nationalities for the coming autumn term. A teaching staff of 100 including professors, lecturers and practicing physicians will arrive here from other parts of the country in June to take up their posts. The medical college is part of a scheme for building a medical center in this provincial capital of Sinkiang, where the inhabitants belong mostly to national minorities. The project includes a 600-bed hospital and a clinic able to treat 800 patients daily. Construction of this 240,000 square meters medical center was started in July last year. The college authorities have arranged for studies to begin this year while building continues."

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The second group of schools includes the Yenan University in Yenan, Shensi, which became the Northwest People's Revolutionary University in 1949, and the Northwest School of Political and Legal Sciences in 1953. This kind of school is essentially a training center for cadres. The August First Agricultural College, the establishment of which was reported by Burkhan in

873 874 *268 179 September, 1955, is a place where cadres and students transferred into Sinkiang from other provinces receive their agricultural training. It is more of a training camp than a regular college.

B. Nationality Education

1. The general trend

871 *668 179 Under the Communist regime, educational activities among the ethnic minorities of the Northwest are reported to have increased sharply. The Communists recognized early that by emphasizing the issue of education among the some thirteen nationalities in the Northwest, they could further consolidate their hold over these minorities. In line with their policy of placating the Moslems (See Religion), educational developments in Sinkiang have been widely publicized. It is not easy to make sense of the different sets of figures given. The most meaningful are tabulated in Table 7. [1]

In this table, the figures of Burkhan's report of January 1, 1953, are so inconsistent with the rest that they probably have to be discarded; otherwise the figures appear mutually compatible. According to the percentages given, the number of schools in the years before 1949 should have been about two hundred, and the number of students slightly more than two hundred thousand. [114] These figures do not coincide with pre-Communist statistics. One fact emerges clearly from the figures of Table 3. All the mosque schools and their students must be included in them. In view of the shortage of educational personnel it is highly questionable whether staff and curriculum of these schools can be adjusted within a reasonable amount of time to the exigencies of Communist education. That this problem is realized is shown by reports that more than 130 middle and primary school teachers of all nationalities were inducted for special political training in the Sinkiang College, the Northwest People's Revolutionary University, and the Northwest Normal College in 1955 alone. In 1954, 126 teachers of all nationalities were given political indoctrination courses in so-called "spare-time improvement classes" in Urumchi, Kashgar, Sha-che and Khotan. Such classes were also operated in other areas, with particular emphasis upon the training of primary teachers. Schools of all levels are adopting advanced teaching methods and experiences and the teachers have reached the stage "of carrying out their work with preparation and planning" (Current Background, Oct. [875] 25, 1955). The number of politically reliable teachers might have increased somewhat through these measures. In view of the prevailing need, the figures given are still pitifully low. The basic question of whether the ahung can be entrusted with Communist education remains unsolved.

[1]. [See p. 323--Analyst]

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The Communists are, however, careful in giving the appearance of promoting the special characteristics of the different nationalities, and of using national forms in teaching. Where the nationalities have written languages, they are used in textbooks. In the last few years there have been compiled, translated, published and supplied more than four million copies of middle and primary school textbooks in Uighur, Kazakh, Russian, Mongolian, Uzbek, Tatar and Kirghiz. The new teaching material used has been as far as possible adapted to the actual living conditions of the different nationalities, and teaching methods have been adopted which are familiar to the different nationalities and suitable to their mentalities.

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2. Higher education

Efforts to build up institutions of higher education for the nationalities have been particularly publicized. The Sinkiang Medical College and the August First Agricultural College have been mentioned earlier. Of particular importance, however, were the institutions for the training of nationality cadres. The foremost school in the country which serves this purpose is the Nationalities School in Peking (See IMAR Handbook, Education).

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The Northwest, however, has two institutions of its own, the Sinkiang Nationality College at Urumchi, Sinkiang, and the Northwest Nationality College at Lanchou, Kansu.

The Northwest Nationality College was reorganized in 1950 from the so-called Study Class on Problems of the Tibetans. Up to 1953, it had graduated more than 1,800 students and in 1953 it was attended by more than 1,300 students from 13 different nationalities. The school includes three sections:

(1) The training class of administrative cadres:

(2) The College, with four departments, namely, languages, political science, law, and animal husbandry and veterinary medicine. The students majoring in law or political science graduate in two years; those majoring in languages or animal husbandry and veterinary medicine graduate in three years.

(3) The sub-freshman.

On February 18, 1954, Jen-min jih-pao reported that up to then the Northwest Nationality College in Lanchou graduated 2,573 students; and that there were 786 students in attendance. These students came from thirteen nationalities, namely, Mongol, Tibetan, Uighur, Chinese Moslems, T'u-sin (Mongours), Tung-hsiang, Salar, Pao-an, Yü-ku, Kazakh, Uzbek, Manchu and Chinese. Teaching was offered in all these languages.

On January 10, 1955, the New China News Agency reported that the Northwest Nationality College graduated another 465 students of the various nationalities. Most of these were "positive elements" in the pastoral areas and minority cadres serving in the government above the ch'ü level in Kansu, Chinghai

and Shensi. Of them 342 had attended the college to learn the spoken and written languages of the Mongols, Tibetans and Uighurs.

Sinkiang Nationality College has a different background. Before 1949 it had been a regular college, with about two hundred students, three-fourths of whom were Chinese and the rest minority nationalities. On October 1, 1950, the college was renamed as Sinkiang Nationality College and reorganized into five departments, namely, agriculture and forestry, animal husbandry, education, law and medicine. The number of students doubled, 89.3 per cent being of the minorities. Because of the shortage of faculty and equipment, the two classes of the department of medicine were transferred to Lanchou University and to the Physicians' School of the Provincial Public Health Bureau in 1951. Furthermore, because of the shortage of cadres in every field in Sinkiang, the students still in college were also called out to serve in the various branches of the government.

In 1952, the college authorities proposed to add a two-year curriculum, with the aim of preparing teachers in the secondary schools in Sinkiang. The college was then divided into two parts, the college and the junior college. The college took in students at the level of a regular senior middle school and graduated them in two years. The junior college took in students at the level of a regular junior middle school and graduated them in one year. This included the re-education of middle school teachers already teaching.

This College of Education was organized into five departments, so together with the three original departments, agriculture and forestry, animal husbandry and law, and the newly added art and physical education department, there were now nine departments and thirty-two classes. The number of students increased to 878, including Uighur, Kazakh, Uzbek, Kirghiz, Tartar, Sibo, Solon, Mongol, Chinese, Manchu and Chinese Moslems. Nationality students outnumbered Chinese ten to one.

The college library had about fifty thousand volumes. The shortage of faculty was serious. To solve the problem, the college depended upon students to teach students. Textbooks were also a problem, which was partially solved by using textbooks in Uzbek and Kazakh from the Soviet Union, and by re-editing and combining material from old Chinese textbooks and Soviet books. Up to August 1953, this college had graduated more than 250 cadres. In 1955 the college had eight departments and thirteen hundred students. Ninety-six per cent of the students were from the minority nationalities. Among the faculty were 350 Soviet Russians. (NCNA, November 1, 1955.)

any should oversleep and fail to eat the necessary food before daybreak.

The regular practice of Zakat is practically unknown to the Chinese Moslem community. Only during the month of Ramadan, when charity is extended to the poor and donations are given to the ahung are alms given in a form resembling Zakat. There is no fixed amount given and the act itself is purely voluntary. The only form of sadaqa (voluntary alms) given is the sadaqa el-fitr given in the three days of Id el Fitr (the Moslem New Year). These offerings can be made in cash or in goods.

Particularly among the Chinese Moslems of the Northwest the practice of pilgrimage to Mecca was observed. The Hajjis, or those who completed their pilgrimage to Mecca, were highly respected in their communities. Pilgrimage has decreased considerably in the last years. The Hajj organized by the China Islamic Society in 1952 did not reach Mecca; they went as far as Pakistan and returned to Peking, for reasons that were not specified.

Id el-Fitr, the New Year, is the best observed of the different Moslem holidays. It occurs during the first three days of the tenth month. Special services are held in the different Moslem communities, and great feasts are given to celebrate the occasion.

In general the Chinese Moslems do abstain from pork and wine as their religion commands. They will not eat meat that has not been killed in the approved Moslem fashion. Many of the merchants, carters and others who travel carry their own utensils, and often, where there are no Moslem communities, carry their own food so as to avoid food that is prohibited by their religion.

The influence of the general Chinese beliefs on the Moslems has been noted by many, particularly by D'Ollone. Ancestor worship is the core of the non-Moslem Chinese belief. It is not restricted to domestic worship but extends to religious devotion to the graves of the ancestors, which are designed to assure the peace of the deceased and are a scene of devotion every anniversary. The Moslems of the Northwest have been so influenced by these traditions that, in the secrecy of their homes, most of them burn incense in front of the ancestors' tablets. In evidence of this custom, D'Ollone brought back two vases which served the purpose of ancestor worship. Both of these vases belonged to Chinese Moslems, and had Moslem religious inscriptions in Arabic. The practice of pilgrimage to the well kept tombs of the ancestors is also found among the Chinese Moslems of Kansu. Some of the bigger tombs are quite elaborate and include, besides the monuments, a mosque, school halls and lodging places.

S N 795 referring to "those who pray openly," contrasted with Khafira (identified as the Old Sect) or "those who pray secretly."

All the sects described above belong to the Sunni order; there are extremely few Shi'is among the Chinese Moslems. These sects have retained continuous hostility, which has manifested itself in violence, at times even resulting in bloodshed.

N 795 563 [197] [142] H. The Salars

The Salars are another group of Moslems, distinct from the Dungans, who live in China. They differ considerably from the Chinese Moslems in appearance, and they speak a form of corrupt Turkish.

N 795 [361] The Salars live in Hsün-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the Huang-ho, and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on the road from Sining to Ho-chou. In religion they are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. They are not very strict in their observance of the different Moslem rites, and are known to be heavy drinkers. Although they do not observe the rites of Islam in a strict manner, they feel very strongly about their belonging to the world Moslem community and are quite fanatic in this respect. They have participated in many of the rebellions against the Han Chinese in the Northwest. Their clergy, who are greatly respected, are leaders of the Salar community.

N [669] [793] Unlike the Chinese Moslems, the Salars have not assimilated many of the customs and beliefs of the Chinese. They do not burn incense nor pay special reverence to their ancestors. They have a much better knowledge of the Arabic language than have the Dungans, and even the lowest classes are acquainted with the Arabic alphabet. They are said to have received their present form of religion from Ma Ming-hsin (Muhammad Amin).

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III. Religious Life of the Chinese in the Northwest

N 346 798 A. Sites of Religious Traditions

The Northwest includes what was once the economic and administrative center of the Chinese Empire. In the city of Sian and its surroundings, some of the older relics of religious institutions can still be seen. The memory of the great culture heroes of the past is particularly strong here and many of them are still worshipped in temples and shrines. Foremost among them is the Great Yü, tamer of the flood, who, according to legend, made life in this region possible by draining the excess water off through the narrows of T'ung-kuan. Among the famous Buddhist temples of Sian is the Wo-lung-ssu (The Temple of the Sleeping Dragon) which was built in Han times and has been a place of continuous reverence by emperors and peasants ever since. It contained a famous mural of the Kuanyin by Wu Tao-zu

According to official tradition, the Spirit of Hua-shan is Shan-sheng, one of the descendants of P'an-ku, the mythical creator of the world. Many other genii have, however, been connected with this mountain. According to the oldest legendary records, it was a female spirit, the Holy Mother, Sheng-mu, who was propitiated here to bring forth the all-important rain; but she also received sacrifices and prayers to accord victory in battle. More recent and still prevalent legendary traditions make the Hua-shan one of the centers of the cult of the Jade Maiden (Yü-nü) whose blessings are sought for the propagation of male offspring.

It might be added that the Hua-shan with its rugged peaks and valleys, adorned with rare forests and intimate expressions of the pious sense of centuries, belongs to the most scenic spots of all China.

The great temple at the foot of the mountain, one of the most magnificent products of Chinese architecture, has been transformed into an arsenal in Kuomintang times.

B. Religious Attitudes in the Northwest

In general the Chinese in the Northwest adhere to the so-called "Three Great Religions." Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism all play important parts in their religious system. In specific regions, Christianity, particularly the Catholic Church, has strong footholds among the local Chinese people. Where the people belong to the tradition of Chinese history and culture, scholarship and tradition have strengthened the cult of ancestor worship and the ideals and practices of Confucianism. There the blending of Confucian teachings, Buddhist ethics and Taoist principles predominates in the religious complex of the local inhabitants. In the border communities, strongly influenced by the nearby Tibetans, the Chinese include a large amount of Buddhistic observance and practice in their religious activities. They persist in styling themselves Confucianist in religious matters, but they devote their time and money to the performance of Buddhist ritual. It is reported that the Chinese of these areas are appreciably more religious than those of the more typically Chinese communities. Taoism is sandwiched into this all-embracing system of magical practices, necromancy and aberrant forms of philosophy.

Christianity first came to China through the Northwest and established its headquarters in Ch'ang-an (present Sian), the national capital during the Tang Dynasty. Missionaries of the Nestorian Church first brought Christianity to the trade routes in the present Northwest. The decisive, historically dated record in Chinese and in Syriac called the Nestorian monument,

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771 "The traditions, the rituals, the basic and essential relation-
182 ships which govern men's intercourse, control the small circle
living in such far-away places as rigidly as they control the
N family which dwells in one of China's great cities. Both act ac-
[769] cording to principles laid down by ancestors, whose control is
so subtle and so little questioned as to leave no room for the
spontaneous and the unusual." (Cable and French, The Gobi
Desert, 165-166.)

S Chinese settlers in Sinkiang of course reflect the religious
771 characteristics of their origin. Among the old settlers, who
795 came into the country with Tso Tsung-t'ang, the secret society
793 tradition is still strong. Merchants, mostly from Tientsin,
[575] almost universally belong to the Tsai-li sect which forbids its
adherents indulgence in drinking and smoking.

IV. Religion under the Communists

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795 ### A. Islam

*668 When they were fighting for the supremacy of China in the
• 197 years following World War II and when they first came to power
in 1949, the Chinese Communists promised religious freedom
to the national minorities in an effort to gain their support.
Article 53 of the Common Program of the CPPCC, promulgated
in September, 1949, stated that "the national minorities shall
have freedom to develop their dialects and languages, to pre-
serve or reform their traditions, customs and religious be-
liefs." Mosques were promised exemption from taxes and
Article 3 of the Agrarian Reform Law, published in June 1950,
which decreed the confiscation of the land belonging to ancestral
shrines, Buddhist temples and Christian churches and schools,
provided for the retention of land by the mosques, subject to the
wishes of local Moslem residents. As a further effort to win
over the Moslem population of the Northwest, the Government
Administration Council issued in December, 1950, a directive
permitting the observance of the festivals of Id-el-Fitr, Corban
and Molid Nabawi. It abolished tax on the slaughter of cattle for
celebration of these festivals and permitted holidays for cadres,
soldiers, workers and students of Moslem faith. State trading
companies were instructed to sell daily necessities to the Mos-
lems, during these festivals, at reduced prices.

These pronouncements made up the sum total of what the
propaganda of the Chinese Communists called the "policy of
N benevolence" toward the national minorities. They were given
[798] tremendous publicity which served to overshadow the grimmer
and more gory record of persecution of the Moslem peoples in
the Northwest. The reasons for the ostensible policy of toler-

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795 ance toward the Moslems may be as follows:
*668 1. The strong cohesiveness of the Moslems in China. Unlike
•177 the followers of other faiths, such as Buddhism and Taoism, who were scattered and disorganized, the Moslems in China and in the border regions are strongly organized and, at times, have presented a united front toward their enemies. This was one of the first lessons learned by the Chinese Communists. For example, early in 1949 when the People's Liberation Army, on entering Peking, wanted to occupy one of the mosques, a crowd of Moslems immediately gathered at the entrance of the mosque, voicing belligerently their determination to defend it. It was only upon the intervention of the Commission of Nationality Affairs that the PLA agreed to drop its demands.

In view of the predominance of the Moslem population in the
N Northwest, especially in Sinkiang which is far from the locus of
795 Chinese Communist power and where Soviet influence was
*668 strong, the Chinese Communists were obliged to adopt a conci-
177 liatory, go-slow policy in order to bring the Moslems in line.

S 2. Instead of outright persecution, the Chinese Communists,
795 recognizing the traditional deference of the Moslems to their
668 leaders and their attachment to organizations, sought to control
177 them by winning over their leaders and dominating them indirectly through the agency of mass organizations. Of these mass organizations, two were especially designed for the control of the Moslem peoples as a religious faction: the China Islamic Association and the China Hui Cultural Association, both established in May 1953, and both predominantly staffed by Chinese Moslems (Hui or Dungans) instead of Moslems of other races.

S The chairman of the China Islamic Association is Burkhan,
[635] governor of Sinkiang (now chairman of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region), who is apparently a figurehead. In the executive committee of the China Islamic Association, thirty-one of the forty members are Chinese Moslems and only four including Burkhan are Uighur. The China Hui Cultural Association, headed by Liu Ko-p'ing, is almost exclusively a Chinese Moslem organization.

The purpose of the China Islamic Association, stated Burkhan in a speech in October, 1952, was to assist the government to implement the policy of religious freedom and to include the representative figures of Moslem faith throughout the country. The vice chairmen of the association, Liu Ko-p'ing, Shaikh Nur Mohammad Ta Pu-sheng, Yussuf Ma Yü-huai, Ma Chien and Saifuddin, are all loyal Communist followers. In their speeches at the preparatory meeting of the association, July 27-31, 1952, Chang Hsi-jo, vice chairman of the Financial-Economic Commission of the GAC, and Ulanfu, vice chairman of the National-

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795 ity Affairs Commission, both stressed that the aim of the assoc-
*668 iation was to imbue its members with the love for the fatherland.
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S In Sinkiang and other concentrations of Moslem population in
795 China, branches of the China Islamic Association and the cul-
668 tural associations established by the Communists, have supple-
177 mented the Islamic church, and the function of the Moslem dignitaries.

N 3. A more important reason for the apparently tolerant atti-
795 tude of the Chinese Communists toward Islam is the utilization
648 of the Moslem leaders for the purpose of propaganda, both
*668 domestic and foreign. In a speech at the third session of the
177 First National Committee of the CPPCC, October, 1951, Ma Chien declared: "I have received numerous letters from the ahungs in the Northwest and the Southwest regions expressing their desire to study and to reform themselves. In order to assist them to study the revolutionary ideas of Mao Tse-tung as well as to enable these theories to be universally made known to the people of the Middle East and North Africa, we have translated the following documents of the CPPCC: 'On New Democracy,' 'The Chinese Revolution and the CCP,' and the 'Important Documents of the CPPCC.'" (JMJP Nov. 2, 1951.)

The fact that the Chinese Communists intend to use the Moslem leaders to extend Chinese Communist propaganda to their co-religionists in the Middle East may be seen in the statement in the Jen-min jih-pao (June 6, 1952) that the religious leaders of the Northwest were aroused "to boundless sympathy and concern for the people of the Arab countries of the Middle East—Egypt and Iran—in their fight for national liberation and struggle against the United States and British imperialism and to adopt concerted action to support their struggle."

The first act of the preparatory committee of the Chinese Islamic Association was to assist the Chinese Communist Party and Chinese Communist government in publicity work in the Arab countries. In August 1952, it organized a Chinese Hajji Mission to visit Mecca, which, for reasons unexplained, turned back upon reaching Pakistan without going on to its destination. However, two months later, many Moslem leaders from Asiatic countries were invited to attend the Peace Conference of Asian and Pacific Regions, held in Peking, during which Burkhan, chairman of the Association, at a reception to the Moslem delegates, told them that "our religion as well as our customs and habits are fully respected" by the Communist regime. His speech dwelt, however, more on the material benefits than on religious well-being of the people in the Northwest except to say
N that they were permitted to observe their festivals.
[793] Deprived of their civil and judicial duties, the Moslem clergy

in the Northwest was utilized primarily as propagandists. In April, 1951, three thousand Moslem ahungs and mullahs from forty-five mosques in Urumchi held a mass meeting to denounce the United States and, later in meetings of their congretations, they made speeches to persuade the Moslem people to sign the Stockholm Peace Appeal, the Appeal for the Five-Power Peace Pact, and to protest the rearmament of Japan. On May 2, 3,500 people, led by ahungs and mullahs of 46 Urumchi mosques offered prayers for world peace. The mass rally initiated a drive for funds for the purchase of planes, tanks and heavy artillery for the Chinese troops in Korea. The minority peoples of Sinkiang donated funds sufficient, it was reported, for the purchase of thirty planes and seven artillery pieces. The religious leaders of Yin-chuan in Ninghsia donated funds for a fighter which they named "Mohammedan."

In a way, the acquiescence of the Moslem leaders to assist the Chinese Communists in the promotion of propaganda has been a reason for the comparative moderation of the Communist regime toward Islam in China. The attitude of the Chinese Communists toward the teachings of Muhammad has followed very much the line adopted in Soviet Russia. The evolution of the Soviet authorities toward Islam has undergone the following stages: (1) the attack on the teachings of Muhammad as the deification of big capitalistic merchants exploiting the unhappy poor, (2) the argument that Islam was originally the ideology of the peasantry but was later corrupted by the aristocratic class. This view was rejected as being too favorable to Islam. (3) The anti-religious propaganda lines that Muhammad was a myth or that Muhammad was the leader of a feudal revolution. (4) The argument that finally prevailed was that of S.P. Tolstov, that Islam emerged from a social-religious movement which evolved from the feudalism following the disintegration of Arab tribal systems. (Essays in the History of Research into Islam in the USSR, published by the History Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, cited in Missionary Bulletin, September, 1955.)

In China, the argument for and against the teachings of Muhammad also raged in Communist publications early in 1951. Lu Hung-chi, in an article in Kuang-ming jih-pao (January 10, 1951) charged that Muhammad, figuratively speaking, held a gun in one hand while he reached into the pockets of the people for money with his other hand, and that his teachings were an excuse for robbing the people. This article aroused a storm of protest from the Moslem residents of Peking and prompted Ma Chien to write a rebuttle entitled "The Sword of Muhammad," published in the Hsin-hua Monthly (February, 1951 issue), stating that the sword of Muhammad was for self-defense, aimed only

795 at the counter-revolutionaries and not to coerce the people to
798 become converts. In this article, Ma Chien skillfully diverted
*668 the attention of the people from Islam to the United States as the
• 177 enemy of the nation, saying that it was American imperialism,
795 not Islam, which aimed at the conquest of Asia and the enslave-
648 ment of the Asians. This line was immediately adopted. On May
*668 16, 1951, the Jen-min jih-pao carried an article entitled, "The
177 American Imperialists are the Deadly Enemies of the Moslems of the World." On April 16, 1951, another article appeared in the Jen-min jih-pao, signed by forty-nine prominent Moslem leaders in Peking, entitled "Moslem Brethren of the World, Rise up to Halt the Crimes of the American Imperialists." The cry was re-echoed by Moslem leaders in the Northwest. Ma Liang-chün, imam of the Chinese Moslems in Sinkiang, issued a proclamation under the title "Moslem Believers, Take Positive Action and Struggle to Crush the Germ Warfare of the United States." (Sinkiang jih-pao, March 13, 1952.)

Thus, by joining the Resist United States and Aid Korea Movement, which was raging at a frenzied pitch in 1950-52, the Moslem leaders in China were able to deflect attacks on Islam launched by some of the Communist publicists. But with the conclusion of hostilities in Korea, the Chinese Communists began to re-evaluate and to revise their policy toward the Moslems in
795 the Northwest. Moreover, by 1954, when Communist China had
*668 gained ascendency in Chinese Turkestan and political domination
177 over the Moslem population in that region, there was less need to pacify them by promises. The year 1954 also marked the end of the period of New Democracy, which called for a United Front of all the peoples, and the commencement of socialism, in which the CCP would emerge paramount.

795 The change of Communist policy toward the Moslem peoples
641 of the Northwest as in other parts of China is seen in the official
*668 documents of the Chinese Communists. In contrast to the Com-
177 mon Program of the CPPCC, the blue print for the period of New Democracy, in which, in Article 53, the national minorities were promised freedom to develop their languages and to preserve or reform their cultures and religions, the Constitution of the People's Republic of China (adopted in September, 1954,) pointedly omits the freedom of religion for the national minorities. Article 3, which discusses the rights of the national minorities, states that "all the nationalities have freedom to use and foster the growth of their spoken and written languages and to preserve or reform their own customs and ways." Only in Article 88 was there the provision that the "citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of religious belief," and, according to Mao Tse-tung's definition (in his People's

795 641 Democratic Dictatorship, 1949), the term "citizen" is restricted to certain select classes of people, not all the people.

*668 • 177 Moreover, as the Communist officials have frankly stated, toleration would be granted to only religious faiths which (1) 795 798 have been purified of foreign influences and "feudal superstitions," (2) contribute toward the increase of production, and *668 177 (3) do not conflict with the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Mao Tse-tung. In other words, the Chinese Communists sanction only religions that have been tamed, domesticated, and cleansed of political coloration.

In the implementation of this policy of the Central People's Government, Burkhan, governor of Sinkiang, announced in February, 1955, that only "legal religious activities would be permitted by the people's government," because, he said, "individual counter-revolutionary elements have infiltrated into Islam and, under the cloak of religion, are carrying on counter-revolutionary activities." (Sinkiang jih-pao, February 25, 1955.)

The stiffening of Chinese Communist policy toward the adherents of Islam represented, actually, no radical change but rather the shedding of the pretense of benevolence toward the nationality minorities whose attachment to their religion was stronger than their allegiance to the state. It represented, too, a recognition by the Chinese Communists of the fundamental differences between Islam and Communism and of the impossibility of rationalizing these differences. Islam, with its strong social principles for the regulation of state and homelife, conflicts with the totalitarianism of Communism. As Moslem 795 leaders of Asian countries have pointed out, Communism advo- *668 cates the use of force against those who would not readily 177 accede to it; Islam teaches men to bring others to follow the way of God by peaceful means. Communism does not respect the sanctity of human life, but teaches violence and favors the organization of society based upon atheism and anti-religion; Islam provides for individual rights and freedom, and encourages humanitarian services, compassionate feeling toward all living beings, apart from devotion to God.

795 182 (69) Besides being a religion, Islam in Chinese Turkestan has also been a strong political force welding the multi-racial groups together in their struggle for self-rule and their resistance to oppression. The insurrections of the Moslems against the Chinese in the beginning of the nineteenth century have been led by religious leaders, the Khojas; the widespread uprisings of the Moslems in the 1860's were led by Ma Hua-lung, the leader of the New Sect, in Kansu, and by Yakub Beg, who bore the title of Commander of the Faithful, in Kashgaria.

000 The demands of the natives of Sinkiang for independence were

S 795 798 668 177 civil marriage, marriage and divorce ceased to be an important function administered by the qadi.

Thousands of religious scholars and intellectuals, denounced as counter-revolutionaries, were arrested. The people's courts tried some thirty thousand Moslems, sentencing some to death and others to life imprisonment. Soviet forces were reported to have joined the Chinese Communist troops in suppressing the anti-Communist uprisings, in which it is estimated that 130,000 Moslems were slaughtered, 260,000 sentenced to forced labor and 150,000 fled from Sinkiang. [Figures based on Hikmah (Indonesian weekly), July 23, 1955, in Missionary Bulletin, January 1954, and report of Mochtar Gazali, member of the Executive Council of the Federation of Indonesian Moslem Labor, in Missionary Bulletin, July 1953.]

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But the persecutions have failed to wipe out opposition from large segments of the Moslem population. As late as the spring of 1956, it was still charged that "counter-revolutionaries" were hiding in religious circles and "under the cloak of religion they carried out various kinds of destructive activities." (Report of Su Chen-yung, vice director of the Bureau of Public Security, Kansu People's Government, in Kansu jih-pao, March 15, 1956.)

N 795 792 *668 ● 177 B. Lamaism

As was the case with Islam, the present regime has also tried to placate Lamaism as a device to attract the loyalties of the Lamaistic peoples, the Mongols and the Tibetans. Famous Lama temples were kept in a good state of repair, Lamaist priests and dignitaries received subvention and a certain restraint was shown toward interfering with strictly religious practices (for details see IMAR Handbook, Religion). More particularly, the two highest priests of Tibetan Lamaism, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama, both 'teen-agers, by the way, were kept at Peking for long periods of time and shown around at international gatherings.

N 795 792 *563 *668 177 Attitudes toward Lamaism as a religion and an institution differ somewhat in the Mongolian and the Tibetan contexts. Generally speaking, it can be said that among the Mongols the influence of Lamaism was on the wane. Even among those Mongols who stuck to their traditions and maintained loyalty to their princes, there was a tendency to break loose gradually from the leading-strings of the Lamaseries. Already in pre-Communist times, progressive Mongols supported this movement. The Regent of the Alashan Mongols, for instance, had made it a rule to submit Lama novices to compulsory secular education and military training in order to educate them out of Lamaism. No reports are available on how Mongolian Lamas have reacted to

the Communist soft-glove treatment. It is known, however, that they are used widely as Communist propaganda agents.

In Tibet, on the other hand, and that includes the Tibetan parts of Chinghai, the position of Lamaism is infinitely stronger. There was no sign of weakening in the adherence to the old faith, and militant Lamas were always in a position to incite the lay population to concerted action. This has again been shown in the recent rebellious outburst in Tibet, which seems to be particularly strong in Southern Chinghai. Occurring at a time when the Dalai Lama was back in Lasa and the first steps had been taken to grant Tibet "autonomy" status (Reuters, April 26, 1956), this outburst is all the more surprising as it sets off the leading Lamaist clergy not only from the Peking regime but also from their spiritual head. Ruthless suppression measures which included the bombing of Lamaseries have thus far apparently not succeeded in quelching the rebellion. Mention is made of a Tibetan Resistance Party (Mim ang, literally, People's Organization) led by Lamaist clergy and joined by officials, traders and other laymen (Himalayan Times, Kalimpong, May 13, 1956: New York Times, June 30, 1956; AP, July 7, 1956).

C. The Fate of Christianity

Christian missionary activities and Christian establishments in the Northwest have been predominantly Catholic. The Communists had some dealings with Catholic priests and Catholic communities in the Yenan period. The staunchly anti-Communist stand of the Catholic Church had at that time given rise to friction and incidents, even though the Communists still wanted at that time to avoid drastic action. In Mongol Catholic communities they had attempted to undercut the prestige of the priest in case he was a foreigner, but they learned from experience that they did not fare better when a Mongol Catholic priest was put in charge. The strong cohesion between the community and the priests forced the Communists repeatedly into making concessions. A perusal of the records, however, creates the impression that dealings with the Catholic Church were handled locally and incidentally only, and that no plans were yet devised for how to take care of the Catholic Church.

After the general conquest, however, a pattern emerged which shows that an over-all policy was applied to the region. This policy was apparently inspired by Lenin's doctrine that Bismarck's head-on collision with the Catholic Church, the Kultur-kampf, was a folly. A propaganda front of "religious freedom" was therefore maintained all through the years. There was apparently, particularly in the beginning, a certain amount of local lattitude in the interpretation of this principle. In a

795 number of parishes, religious life went on without major interference up until about 1951. For the strategy of interferences the Communists drew on earlier experiences in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, where "spontaneous action" had frequently led to situations that were deemed undesirable by the regime (see Northeast Handbook, Religion). From the pattern of events the following strategic rules can be derived:

1. Do not attack the Catholic Church as such.
2. Attack certain Church institutions which are either most dear to the hearts of the communities or most efficient in maintaining an active community spirit.
3. Avoid making martyrs.
4. Attack individual functionaries of the Church on non-religious charges.
5. Draw the utmost propaganda advantages out of every case.
6. Separate foreign leadership from indigenous communities.
7. Substitute a malleable "Catholic" organization for the existing Catholic Church.

Not even the first of these principles was generally applied. Even though the "freedom of religion" line was never officially abrogated, repeated anti-religious propaganda campaigns were entertained to create an atmosphere in which individual believers would sever their connections with their Church. In the case of Catholics these campaigns proved essentially a failure. It was furthermore made perfectly clear in interrogation of Church officials that there was no room for religion in a Communist state.

Catholic institutions most heavily attacked were the orphanages and the Legion of Mary. The Communists did not tolerate the possibility that an institution of such incisive charitable effect as an orphanage should remain in the hands of the Church. The public trials of the Sisters who were in charge of these orphanages are among the most vicious on record; incredible charges such as child murder and selling into prostitution were preferred against them. The Communists even risked considerable opposition and resentment to eradicate institutions which would so obviously ingratiate the Church to the communities.

The campaign against the Legion of Mary started early. It reached its pitch in 1951, but has not subsided.

The treatment dealt out to Catholic priests, sisters, brothers and laymen showed some local variations. There are instances in which torture and indignities were only sparingly applied. In most cases, however, it was attempted to go all the way to the point of martyring—an attempt, by the way, that was not always successful. Insufficient food, shackling, beatings by fellow prisoners used as stooges, constant disturbance of sleep,

795 798 • 177 668 continuous interrogations and then trials before People's tribunals and confrontations with hysterical crowds, parading through the city, were the methods most frequently used.

In the second half of 1951 and all during 1952 and 1953, the campaign against the Catholic hierarchy went on. Most of the bishops and priests were charged with collaboration with imperialistic countries, spying, and membership in the Legion of Mary. Many of them were thrown into jail or kept under house detention, and then one by one they were expelled. It is strange to note that, particularly in the beginning, the Communists wanted it to seem that they left voluntarily; and all kinds of torture were applied to make them sign petitions for an exit permit. Among those expelled were: Archbishop Theodore Buddenbroek of Lanchou, Kansu; Bishop Melckebeke of Ninghsia; Prefect Apostalic Jerome Haberstroh of Hsining; Bishop Larranga-Lana of Ping-liang, Kansu; Prefect Apostalic Pierre Maleddu of Hsing-an, Shensi; Bishop Peter Grimm of Ch'in-chou, Kansu; Bishop Joseph Maggi of Han-chung, Shensi; Bishop Pierre Moretti of T'ung-chou, Shensi, and Bishop Fulgence Pasini of San-yüan, Shensi. Priests and Sisters were also forced to leave, so that by January 1, 1956, no foreign church official was left in the Northwest. However, as in most of the dioceses concerned, the indigenous priesthood, Chinese or Mongol, was well developed, this loss of foreign leadership did not hurt the Catholic Church in the Northwest so much as the Communists had hoped. Chinese priests were not spared the persecution that their foreign brethren had experienced. They were pilloried and jailed in great numbers; but they stood up to the test remarkably well. Even under the most restricted of circumstances they maintained church services and contact with their communities. It is reported, for instance, that an unnamed Chinese bishop carried on in Lanchow after Archbishop Buddenbroek had left, and even went on ordaining new priests.

The attempt by the Communists to substitute an "Independent" or "Reformed" Catholic Church for the original structure failed dismally in the Northwest. Also in other parts of China this movement has found only negligable response among the Catholic clergy, with the exception of a few show pieces which, of course, are always produced when foreign visitors are at hand. When the movement started, a few among the clergy in the Northwest might have believed that the Holy See would condone such a compromise. Excommunication of the collaborators soon dispelled this belief, however, and in no known case does a priest in the Northwest support the movement. The Communists tried for a time to bring in some "progressive" priests from outside, but apparently none could gain a foothold in Northwest communities.

PUBLIC INFORMATION

N I. Newspapers

175 During the past decades, Northwest China was lagging in cul-
204 tural development. There were very few newspapers before 1937.
167 After the war started, numerous people migrated from the coastal
N provinces into the Northwest. Among these there were a great
(873) number of intelligentsia. Several universities moved from Peking into the Northwest and thousands of students poured into the area. With the coming of these people, the average of cultural standard
N was greatly raised and the demand for more and better newspapers
204 increased. A number of papers emerged and some stayed. Among these, some were supported by the Nationalist Party, such as the Hsi-ching jih-pao or the Western Capital Daily in Sian. Some were supported by the San-min-chu-i Youth Corps, such as Ch'ing-nien jih-pao or the Youth Daily, in the same city. Some were supported by churches, such as the I-shih-pao (Sian edition) in Sian, a Catholic paper. Some were supported by local influences, such as Ch'ing-feng jih-pao in Sian. After the war, there were even anti-government papers, such as Kung-shang jih-pao in Sian, organ of the Democratic League.

Some of these papers achieved an admirable standard of quality. In appearance, these papers were unattractive. Usually printed on the native newsprint, which was thin, dark and rough, the print
N was often unclear. Bad as it was, this kind of newsprint was ex-
(656) pensive and could be bought in quantity only through government rationing. In fact, the government did occasionally use this authority of rationing newsprint to practice a kind of indirect censorship on the papers. Papers were occasionally cut off their rations and found it necessary to buy on the black market at forbidding prices. The dailies usually had no more than four pages, with half of the space occupied by advertisements. About a page and a half would carry the national and world news, editorials, and articles, leaving about half of a page for local news and miscellaneous subjects. The news were mainly supplied by the Central News Agency, a Nationalist Party organ. Within these limitations, little could be done to give profile to a paper. This monotonous pattern was later broken by the anti-government papers, which carried a lot of the Communist news and views. The circulation of all the papers was limited among the intelligentsia, officials and merchants. Few, if any, of the papers exceeded a daily
S circulation of 10,000 copies. In Sinkiang, during the administra-
204 tion of Sheng Shih-tsai, there were editions of the Sinkiang jih-pao published in seven languages. (Lattimore, Pivot of Asia, p. 73.)

N After the Communists conquered the Northwest, they took over
204 all the former government papers. The private papers were dis-
+668 couraged to continue. According to the limited information avail-
• 177 able, the following papers have been or are being edited in the

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Northwest(discounting wall newspapers and blackboard newspapers):

1. Ch'ün-chung jih-pao (Mass Daily) Sian, Shensi. This was the most important Communist Party paper in the Northwest during the period when the Northwest Greater Administrative Area was in existence. With the abolition of the Greater Administrative Area System in 1954, this paper merged with the provincial paper, Shensi jih-pao (Shensi Daily). Apparently the Ch'ün-chung jih-pao was built upon the material foundation of the former Hsi-ching jih-pao, the Nationalist Party paper. It delivered the official Party line to the party members as well as to the public of the Northwest.

2. Shensi jih-pao (Shensi Daily) Sian, Shensi. The Party daily in Shensi with a section on literature. After 1954, it absorbed the original Ch'ün-chung jih-pao.

3. Kuan-chung jih-pao (Kuan-chung Daily), Sian, Shensi. Apparently this is the paper of the local Communist Party in the area of central Shensi.

4. Nung-min pao (Farmers' News), Shensi. A local Party paper published for the peasants in Shensi.

5. Ching-chi k'uai-pao (Economic Express), Sian, Shensi. A paper with emphasis on economics but it has a section for literary work.

6. Ye-nan pao (Yenan News), Yenan, Shensi. A local Party paper in the former Red capital Yenan.

7. Lan-chou Kung-jen pao (Lanchow Workers' News), Lanchow, Kansu. First published on February 7, 1952, apparently by the local trade union, it is a four-page tabloid paper published once every three days.

8. Kansu jih-pao (Kansu Daily), Lan-chou, Kansu. The Party paper in Kansu. Published in Lanchou but its distribution is province-wide.

9. Kansu ch'ing-nien pao (Kansu Youth), Lan-chou, Kansu. An official organ paper of the Kansu provincial committee of the New Democratic Youth League. Published once a week since January 28, 1955.

10. Hsia-ho pao (Hsia-ho News), Hsia-ho, Kansu. The Party paper published by the Communist Party Working Committee in Hsia-ho county of Kansu. First published on April 10, 1952, it is a weekly four-page paper in Tibetan and Chinese.

11. Mu-min pao (Herder's News), the Mongol Autonomous chou, Kansu. A local paper in Mongolian for the Mongols in Kansu, a four-page paper published three times each month since January, 1955. According to the Communist reports, "in the past issues, much space has been devoted to reflect the pastoral people's production, life, and demand in the autonomous area. The newspaper devotes special columns to the study of Mongolian, to cultural and recreational life, and to favorite songs and tales."

N 204 668 177 12. Chinghai jih-pao (Chinghai Daily), Hsi-ning, Chinghai. The Party paper in the province of Chinghai.

13. Sinkiang jih-pao (Sinkiang Daily), Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang. An old paper taken over by the Communist Party after their conquest of Urumchi (Tihua). Now it is the leading Party paper in Sinkiang with a daily circulation of 330,000 copies. It is in Chinese.

S 204 668 177 14. Sinkiang Ch'ing-nien pao (Sinkiang Youth) Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang, organ paper of the Sinkiang New Democratic Youth League in Uighur.

15. T'ien Nan jih-pao (Southern Tien-Shan Daily), Kashgar, Sinkiang. A Party paper in the local area of southern Sinkiang.

16. Ili jih-pao, (Ili Daily) Ili, Sinkiang. First published on October 1, 1955, in Kazakh for the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Chou.

N 204 668 177 Other papers, not presently identifiable must exist or have existed. In 1950, it was claimed that "except for Taiwan and Tibet, each of the 28 provinces of China has its own state-owned newspapers." (NCNA December 17, 1950). It might thus be

S 204 668 177 assumed that there was also an official paper in Ninghsia. Yolbars Khan wrote in 1954: "according to Communist official reports there were at the end of 1953, sixteen different newspapers in Sinkiang printed from lead types. Among these, eight were in Uighur, four in Kazakh, two in Chinese, one in Mongolian, and one in Manchu. (Chung-hua nien-pao, February, 1954, p. 54). A later report states that "In Sinkiang, there are now (September 20, 1955) thirteen newspapers published in five different languages, Uighur, Chinese, Kazakh, Mongolian and Sibo. (Sibo is an extinct Tungusic language.) (Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao, November, 1955, p. 33).

N 204 205 668 177 Besides these local papers, some of the leading nationwide papers are specially shipped into the Northwest by air mail. Starting from August 1, 1952, the Communist postal administration has arranged the air mail delivery to Sinkiang and other northwestern areas of Jen-min jih-pao (People's Daily), the Kung-jen jih-pao (Daily Worker), Kuang-ming jih-pao (Kuang-ming Daily), and the Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien pao (China Youth), all published in Peking. The papers could in this way reach their destinations in two to nine days. Air mail charges for newspapers were 700 (3¢ U.S.) per copy in addition to the ordinary postage. (see China General, Public Information)

N 204 668 177 The contents of these national and local papers are monotonously similar. Especially in the local papers, the very limited space averaging four pages a day is crowded with Party documents, editorials, reports, and articles, leaving very little room for news. Most of the material is supplied by the New China News Agency, which is the Communist Party outlet; guaranteeing successfully strict news control. (The denunciation of Stalin at the twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in February, 1956, was not mentioned in the review of this congress in the official

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Hsin-hua pan Yüeh-k'an (New China Semi-monthly) of March 21st.

One of the unconventional features of these papers is their special use of letters to the editors. These letters are not only published as a safety valve or to reveal public opinion, but are carefully planted "to consolidate the ties between the newspaper and the people." Another way to achieve this aim is the direct appointment of a large number of correspondents from among workers, peasants, students, PLA units and government branches. (Liu Tsun-ch'i, NCNA December 17, 1950.) Liu also hinted at the usefulness of keeping acquainted with constant shifts in the party line, a hint that was well understood and boosted the circulation of the papers.

In appearance these papers are generally very pleasing. Regular newsprint is used again and a clear print. Misprints are few. Starting from January 1, 1956, Shensi jih-pao has changed the setting of types from the traditional vertical lines into horizontal lines. The Sinkiang jih-pao and the Kansu jih-pao are also making preparations for this change.

II. Periodicals

Up to June, 1955, there were 305 different kinds of periodicals in Red China. Among these, 166 were nationwide. In the Northwest, the following magazines were most popular:

1. Chung-kuo ch'ing-nien (Chinese Youth)
2. Hsüeh-hsi (Study)
3. Shih-shih shou-ts'e (Handbook on Current Events)
4. Hsin-chung-kuo fu-nü (New China Women)
5. Kung-jen (Worker)
6. Hsin kuan-ch'a (New Observer)
7. Shih-chieh chih-shih (World Knowledge)
8. Wen-i-pao (Literature)
9. Jen-min wen-i (People's Literature)
10. Hsin chien-she (New Construction)
11. Jen-min hua-pao (People's Pictorial)
12. Hsin-hua yüeh-pao (New China Monthly), starting from January, 1956, it has been changed into Hsin-hua Pan-yüeh-k'an (New China Semi-monthly).
13. Lien-huan hua-pao (Pictoral Stories)
14. Min-tsu hua-pao (Nationalities Pictorial)

(See China General, Public Information).

According to the advertisements in the local papers, these periodicals are available in the Northwest through the book stores.

Identifiable periodicals edited and published in the Northwest include the following titles:

1. Ch'ün-chung yin-yüeh or The Music for the Masses, edited and published by the Northwest People's Publishing House in Sian.
2. Hsi-pei wen-i or Northwest Literature.

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3. Kung-jen wen-i or Laborer's Literature.
4. Shensi wen-i or Shensi Literature.
(The above three are literary magazines published in Sian.)
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5. The Sinkiang Propagandists, a semi-monthly published by Sinkiang People's Publishing House in Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang, with 2,665 regular subscribers, among which 1,719 subscribed to the Uighur language edition and 946 to the Chinese edition. It is a directory for propaganda workers in Sinkiang.
6. Sinkiang Education, a monthly edited and published by Sinkiang Education Corporation and distributed by the Urumchi (Tihua) post office. It has editions in Chinese and Uighur.

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III. Publishers and Distributors

Before the Communists took over the mainland, most important publishing houses and distributors throughout the country were private. Some semi-official publishing houses, such as the Cheng-chung Book Stores were gaining some ground but did not dominate the field. In Northwest China, there were branch stores of nationwide publishers such as the Commercial Press, the Chung-hua Book Company, mostly acting as distributors of books published in Shanghai or Chungking. Local publishing houses were few and small in scale. They were short of capital and inefficiently managed, therefore often ephemeral.

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After the Communists took over, the official and semi-official publishing houses were taken over and the private ones put under control. Previously, Communist controlled publishing houses, the Sheng-huo Book Store, the Tu-shu sheng-huo Book Store and the Hsin-chih Book Store, were consolidated into the San-lien Book Company. This company was then used as a nucleus to control the leading private publishers: "Four of the leading privately operated book companies in China, the Commercial Press, the Chung-hua Book Company, the K'ai-ming Book Company, and the Lien-yin Book Company and one private and public jointly operated, the San-lien Book Company, will form a joint house to be known as the China Book Distributors Corporation to coordinate with the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store in establishing a network of distribution centers throughout the whole country. This is a decision reached on September 15 in the First National Publication Conference held under the auspices of the Publication Administration." (Shanghai News November 19, 1950)

The integration of the private publishing business into the interests of the party was the necessary reorganization and division of labor that changed the blind and anarchial situation of the past." (Wang Po-kung in Shih-shih shou-ts'e pan-yüeh-k'an, September 20, 1951, p. 22.) From that time on publishing business soared (see China General, Public Information).

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As the major distributor of books, the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store has established 1,086 branches all over the country. The state-owned International Book Store became the special distributor of the books and periodicals imported and exported. In the main cities all over the country the Party has established 12 state-owned printing presses with modern equipment. Among these twelve, one is in Sian, Shensi, and one is in Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang. Private publishers, printers and distributors have mostly been forced out of business or have become a part of private state joint enterprises. For Northwest China, the most significant publishing house is the Nationality Publishing House in Peking which has been assigned to publish books in minority languages.

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In Northwest China itself, there are two leading publishing houses, one is the Northwest People's Publishing House in Sian, Shensi. The other is the Sinkiang Provincial (later regional) People's Publishing House in Urumchi (Tihua), Sinkiang. Both are state-owned but apparently the former is under the direct control of the Party, while the latter is under the control of the Provincial Government. The Northwest People's Publishing House uses the printing facilities of the Hsin-hua Printing Press in Sian. The Sinkiang Provincial People's Publishing House apparently has its own printing press since it has put special emphasis on publishing books in languages of the minority groups.

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The distribution of books and magazines in the Northwest is mainly dependent on the branches of the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store. The short history of the Hsin-hua Book Store in Sinkiang illustrates this fact.

On January 10, 1950, the Sinkiang branch of the Hsin-hua Book Store was founded in Urumchi (Tihua). On March 19, April 19, and July 1 of the same year, the sales departments at South Main Street, North Main Street and Nan-liang in Urumchi (Tihua) opened for business respectively. In April, 1950, the Qomul (Hami) Branch opened. In June the Kashgar branch opened. In August, the branch stores in Sha-ch'e, Ili, Altai (A-shan), Chuguchak (T'a-ch'eng), Khotan (Ho-t'ien), Kharashar (Yen-ch'i), Aksu, and Manass (Sui-lai) opened as a part of the provincial government's project. In September, 1952, two branch stores were established in the industrial and mining districts Fu-wen and Tu-shan-tzu. In October, 1952, four branch stores started business in Karghalik (Yeh-ch'eng), Kucha (K'u-ch'e), Yangihissar (Ying-chi-sha) and Maralbashi (Pa-ch'u). Up to the end of 1952, there were 16 branch stores which, in turn, had established 48 sub-stations in counties where no branch store was in existence. At the end of 1950, "with the help of Soviet friends" the Hsin-hua Book Store took over the five International Book Stores at Urumchi (Tihua), Ili, Kashgar, Chuguchak (T'a-ch'eng) and Altai (A-shan).

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Kazakh and Mongolian by the Propaganda Department of the Sinkiang Sub-Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, which sold 243,395 copies. In 1951 alone, Mao's books, On the New Democracy and On Practice, and the People's Democratic Dictionary sold 131,000 copies.

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IV. Books and Pamphlets

Because the Northwest has been culturally backward for years, most of the books there have been imported from outside. The cultural development of China has thus directly affected the situation in the Northwest. If there are more books published in the country as a whole, the Northwest will proportionally benefit by this fact.

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After the Communists took over, achievements in the publishing business were boosted. In 1951 it was reported that from January to July 6,754 different titles were published, an increase of 158% over the same period of 1950. Among these, 2,540 titles were popular reading. This raised the proportion of popular books to 40.9% of the total.

In an article published in 1952, Hu Yü-chih, the Director of the Publication Administration of the Central People's Government of China, made the following statements: "On October 12, 1951, vol. I of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung was published. So far 3,020,000 copies of the first two volumes of this series have been printed and distributed.... During the past three years, the state-owned People's Publishing Houses alone...have published 48 titles and 3,686,000 copies of the classical works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin...."

According to his statistics, books and periodicals published before and after the Communists' conquest compare as follows:

Year	No. Copies Published	No. Periodicals
1936 (Pre-Communist record year)	178,000,000	32,300,000
After:		
1950	274,632,630	35,301,679
1951	669,639,911	176,774,253
1952 (estimation)	882,000,000	180,000,000

He further stated that before the Communists took over, the average number of copies for each title besides textbooks was 2,000. In 1951, the number was 9,782, an increase of about five times. He named the four best sellers in 1951 as follows:

1. The Popular Edition of the Illustrated Explanation of the Marriage Law - 11,500,000 copies.
2. The Popular Edition of the Illustrated Explanation of the Regulations for Punishment of the Counter-Revolutionists in People's Republic of China - 10,680,000 copies.

I: Washington S-4 (no date), 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
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3. The Thirty Years of Chinese Communist Party - 2,800,000 copies.
4. The Pictoral Story of the Thirty Years of Chinese Communist Party - 2,500,000 copies.

He also revealed that since 1951 textbooks used in the junior middle schools all over the country have been unified. They were uniformly edited and printed by the state-owned People's Educational Publishing House, marked with uniform prices and uniformly distributed by the state-owned Hsin-hua Book Store. In other words, the profitable textbook business was taken out of the hands of the private publishers and monopolized by the state. Together with the already monopolized grade school textbook business, the total number increased from 153,849,314 copies in 1950 to 306,230,000 copies in 1952, an increase of 90% in two years. These figures did not include those of textbooks used outside the regular schools. In the second half of 1952 alone, the textbooks used by the winter schools and beginners blasses for adults sold 270,320,000 copies.

Besides books for peasants and workers and books for the youngsters, publications for the minority groups were especially emphasized. The New China News Agency reported that in 1951 176 titles of books (including textbooks) were printed in minority languages with a total of 2,200,000 copies; in 1952, the total increased to 376 titles and more than 4,300,000 copies. It is also reported that during the three years from 1950 to 1952 the Committee of the Nationality Affairs alone had published more than one million copies of books and periodicals translated into Mongolian, Tibetan, and Uighur.

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Up to the end of 1953, the Sinkiang People's Publishing House had published 189 titles of books with a total of 2,114,000 copies. Among these, 56 titles were translations of Mao Tse-tung's writings in Uighur and twelve titles were Mao's writings in Kazakh. In other words, more than one-third of these were Mao's pamphlets.

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The figures on books published in 1954 for the minority groups in Red China were given as follows:

Books Published in Minority Languages (including Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, and Kazakh)

	Titles	Copies
Local Publishing Houses	835	8,730,000
Nationality Publishing House in Peking	201	1,967,000
Total	1,036	10,697,000

This emphasis on the publishing of books in minority languages is further illustrated in the fact that during the eight months from January to August, 1955, Red China published 112 titles of books in Mongolian with a total of more than 432,200 copies.

To assure a wide circulation of books, the Ministry of Culture in Peking issued new regulations about the prices of books in

207 time of 19 1/2 hours per day. Now there are also programs in
*668 Uighur, Mongolian and Tibetan. The political program takes up
• 177 about 30% of the time; music, literature and drama take up about 60%; other items take up about 10%.

In 1951, the Communists claimed to have 73 People's Broadcasting Stations and the "monitoring net" had covered the whole country. There were 15,200 monitoring stations and monitoring cells, besides 14,260 independent monitoring units manned by one individual. How many of these were in the Northwest, was not reported.

Besides the broadcasts sent out from Peking, the main broadcasting stations in the Northwest are:

Name	Wave Length (kc.)
Northwest People's Broadcasting Station in Sian	8007
Sian People's Broadcasting Station	1280
Lanchou People's Broadcasting Station	7313, 1400
Hsi-ning People's Broadcasting Station	9900
Urumchi (Tihua) People's Broadcasting Station	7050

(Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1952, p. 436)

These stations were not used to their full capacity. In 1952, Sian People's Broadcasting Station broadcast only three times a day, from 6:20 to 7:20, from 10:50 to 13:30 and from 17:20 to 22:00. On some days the morning broadcast was omitted. The following are sample programs:

July 2, 1952:

Noon: 12:00 - 12:30 Workers' period: Recorded speeches delivered at the rally of the representatives of the workers of Sian celebrating the 31st anniversary of the Party. Speeches by Chang Yen-po, Deputy-Director of the Department of Organization of the Sian Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and Feng Li-shen, the Secretary of the Enterprise Committee.

12:43 - 13:15 Songs

Evening:

17:45 - 18:00 Youth Period: Introduction to the movie "Sverdlov".

19:00 - 19:30 Local opera of Mei-hsien and Hu-hsien, "Chao Hsiao-lan".

19:45 - 20:20 Recorded speeches delivered at the rally of the Sian Committee of the Chinese Communist Party celebrating the 31st anniversary of the Party. Speeches by Deputy Mayor Ch'en Shih-yü of the People's Government of Sian; Vice-Chairman K'ang Hsin-tsai of the Consultative Committee of the All City All Circle People's

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Representative M ·e'ing
20:00 - 21:00 Shensi Opera, "The White Rabbit Trick". (Ch'ün-chung jih-pao, July 2, 1952, advertisement)

July 6, 1952:
Noon:
12:00 - 12:30 Workers' Period: Correspondence, An introduction of comrade Chang Chen-ts'ai, a municipal worker who is positive in production and diligent in study.
12:45 - 13:15 Single String: "the excellent labor model Chang Shu-yün" (musical program)

Evening:
19:00 - 19:30 Honan Opera: Hua Mu-lan, K'ao-kung
Shensi Opera: The little Son-in-law
19:45 - 20:05 Commentary: The government offices and schools must promote wholeheartedly the patriotic, healthy, anti-epidemic movement.
20:05 - 20:20 Answers to questions from the audience about common sense to prevent contagious diseases.
20:20 - 21:00 Shensi Opera: "The White Rabbit Trick".

These programs are re-broadcast by loudspeakers through
S monitoring stations all over the Northwest. In Sinkiang, the main
207 broadcasting station is the one in Urumchi (Tihua). In every
668 county, there are one or more monitoring stations. According to
177 a 1954 report, there were 140 monitoring stations in Sinkiang. On February 15, 1955, Sinkiang Broadcasting Station started a Kazakh language program, 35 minutes daily except Sunday.

In March, 1955, the State Council in Peking ordered the supply of 1,500 receiving sets for the establishment of monitoring stations in nine provinces and autonomous regions. Kansu, Chinghai and Sinkiang were among these nine. Two months later, 350 monitoring sets were delivered by air mail to Sinkiang. This trebled the monitoring stations in Sinkiang. (NCNA May 27, 1955). Thus there should have been 525 monitoring stations in Sinkiang by summer of 1955. According to the report of Burkhan, however, by September, 1955, there were only 360 monitoring stations (Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao, 1955, p. 33).

One of the first acts of the people's government of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, established in October, 1955, was to expand the radio-receiving facilities in the region, especially for the nomadic peoples living in the more remote parts. In addition to the radio monitoring centers already established in the agricultural areas, 113 centers were set up for the pastoral districts. The plans for 1956 call for the establishment of 479 new monitoring stations in the SUAR. The cost of providing sets will be borne entirely by the people's government and the aim is to have

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at least one monitoring station in each pastoral and agricultural district in Sinkiang.

These sets are designed to monitor local stations but are not powerful enough to receive foreign broadcasts. Reconditioning a radio set to suit "illegal" purposes is one of the major crimes (Hsin-Hua Yüeh-pao, 1955, 8, 258-9).

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Extension of broadcasting and diffusion services is being constantly stepped up. By 1962, it is planned to have every village and cooperative listen to Peking. But even these plans exclude the "remote areas" which means that the border areas of Chinghai, Sinkiang and Kansu will not be reached.

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VI. Movies and Lantern Slides

In 1950, the Communists trained more than 1,800 people in Peking to operate movie projectors. At that time they planned to establish 700 mobile movie teams. The Communists also reported that by 1951 there were at least 9,943 lantern slide projectors in the country, serving 8,000,000 in 1950 and about 200,000,000 in 1951. Simultaneously the production of lantern slide projectors and slides was expanded. In 1952, there were sixteen factories specializing in manufacturing lantern slide projectors and fifteen organizations to produce slides.

In Sian, Shensi, a city of about 600,000 people, there were four movie theaters. Before the Communists took over, the public usually would have a choice of four different pictures. A recent advertisement of these theaters shows the following monotonous pattern:

Liberation Theater	Northwest Theater	A-fang Palace Theater
3:15, 6:45, 9:15	2:45, 6:15, 8:45	2:15, 5:45, 8:15

People's Light Theater
2:00, 5:30, 8:00

We solemnly dedicate our show to
a translated Soviet Feature, the
Glorious winner of the Stalin Prize
SVERDLOV

This picture concretely illustrated the firmness, courage, and wisdom of Sverdlov. In the dark years under the Czar, he organized the progressive workers to struggle for the establishment of Lenin's Party, and lit up the revolutionary fire which destroyed all.
Released by the Northwest Branch of the China Movie Managing Co.
(Sian, Ch'un-chung Jih-pao, 1952, July 2, advertisement.)

Sverdlov, Yakov Mikhailovich, 1885-1919, an outstanding revolutionary and one of the major organizers and leaders of the Bolshevik Party, a close friend of Stalin and Lenin, with whom he worked in early revolutionary movements. He spent several years in exile with Stalin. Lenin called him chief organizer of Party and Soviet power.

ciations located at Urumchi. With the advent of the Chinese Communists, the nationalities cultural associations were taken over and in their place, cultural halls and cultural teams managed and operated by Communist cultural cadres were established in the cities and towns of Sinkiang.

It is strange that in the pronouncements of Communist leaders and the reports of cultural and educational achievements in Sinkiang in the Communist press, no mention can be found on libraries. One can only speculate that with the expansion of publication enterprises under the Communists, the number of libraries must also have increased, as well as the number of books. In the library of the Sinkiang College of Nationalities, the number of books increased 700 per cent of the pre-1949 figure, and the number of books in the languages of the minority peoples increased by 1,400 per cent.

VII. Organization

The organizational system of public information in the Northwest appears simple but is complicated. Government offices in charge of information services are Bureaus or Committees of Cultural and Educational Affairs on the provincial level, which receive instructions from Peking and control the various information services. Some of these, however, are directly controlled from Peking, and among the newspapers and journals are many which are in the hands of the party rather than of the Government.

LABOR

I. "Free Labor

N 464 Information on labor conditions in the Northwest is very scanty. However, there are indications that the Communists have faced a very serious problem of labor shortage in that N [162] area. To begin with, the Northwest is a very sparsely populated area. It embraces about one third of China's territory, but its population is only about six percent of the national total. If any large scale reconstruction works are to be effected, N [801] it seems to be necessary to use outside labor supplies. Moreover, educational standards in the Northwest have been relatively N low. Consequently, the quality of native labor is also a problem.

464 To overcome these difficulties, the Communists have adopted *668 several methods. One is to encourage or force skilled and • 197 semi-skilled labor in other parts of the country to work in the 167 Northwest. For instance, the communication department of [466] Sinkiang in May, 1955, absorbed some 409 automobile drivers S and mechanics from among the demobilized servicemen in [464] Shantung and Honan for reconstruction work in the border [066] regions. In March, 1955, 200 cadres of Hui nationality of the People's Liberation Army Railway Corps have been transfered to work in the Hui-nationality areas in Kansu and Chinghai. Most of these cadres have passed through the Anti-Japanese "War of Liberation," land reform and Anti-U.S. and Aid-Korea campaigns. Of these ninety percent are party members or members of the Communist Youth League.

In late 1954, four thousand skilled building workers and technicians from other cities have signed up for work in Sian. They began to arrive from Shanghai, Wuhan, Canton and other places in early 1955, and they were warmly welcomed by the local authorities. All this shows that outside labor has played a very important part in the economic reconstruction in the Northwest (See also section Population).

II. Army Labor

S 464 Another method is to use the army as a labor force. This 701 has been particularly important in Sinkiang, in which the 708 People's Liberation Army have participated in many reconstruction 668 projects. To take 1955 as an example, they were engaged in 197 the following tasks:

A March 24, 1955, despatch reports: "The People's Liberation Army farming units in Sinkiang have started their afforestation program in the south of this province. This year they plan to plant trees on 1,200 hectares, mostly shelter belts to protect reclaimed farmland."

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

gories and the apportionment of the traditional Buddhist 404 is not standardized.) There are further breakdowns of what might go wrong with what aspects of the human body and the human mind or spirit, to the point where each infinitesimal ailment has its own specific cause and cure, or impossibility of curing. The medicinal treatments involve acupuncture, plasters, herbs, roots, crushed bone, excreta, potions, incantations and numerous other elements. It is a very complex system. When a Tibetan needs medical aid, he must first seek out a lama, present him with a scarf and a gift, and have this lama (who is not a doctor) cast the dice. The dice reveal the portion of the canon that contains reference to the manpa who is needed. The manpa, or specialist, may turn out to be a Christian medical missionary who has been successful in effecting cures (cf. Rijnhart, pp. 163-64). Sometimes there may be some suspicion of fee-splitting. Generally the prescriptions and treatment bear little relation to our own medical knowledge. However, the Tibetans are pragmatists and will seek their cures from those who have established a reputation for success, be they Westerners, Tibetan Buddhist or Bon doctors, or any others. Wherever Western medical science has filtered through, few Tibetans hesitate to make use of it, often simultaneously with their own. Mongol medical science is derived from the Tibetan Buddhist sources. However, more particular Mongol data on health and sanitation can be found in the IMAR Handbook.

III. The Chinese

A. The Diet of the Chinese

The Chinese diet does not contain milk or any milk products. The usual beverage is tea. The principal animals raised for food are pigs, chickens and ducks. In the Northwest, however, mutton has become a very common dish. The Moslems substitute beef for pork. In the Northwest the main grain products are wheat and millet. Rice is also eaten in abundance, being brought generally from southern and central China. Most proteins are derived from soybeans, peanuts and sweet potatoes. The food prepared for special feasts, and the kind eaten by the upper classes, differs considerably from the average Chinese meal, consisting of at least four-fifths meat, fish or fowl. The Chinese method of cooking preserves the vitamins contained in the vegetables, since they are never permitted to linger over the fire or in water.

B. Chinese Concepts of Disease

Most of the people do not know the different values of the various food products. Although many might wish to improve their daily diet with more meats and fish, they cannot afford to do so. The people in general, and particularly in the Northwest, have no

744 The first department devoted most of its time to preventing epidemics, innoculating people against possible epidemics (such as typhoid, typhus, smallpox, cholera) and preventing animal diseases. The National Department of Health was concerned with the promotion of regional health and sanitation institutes. Experimental stations for public health were opened in Kansu. In the
744 Northwest the health programs of the Nationalist Government were
743 launched in the last part of the 1930's. The numbers of hospitals recorded in the Northwest during 1936 are as follows:

	Hospitals	Beds
Shensi	7	263
Kansu	10	124
Chinghai	3	22

648 The Sino-Japanese war interfered with the progress of the
874 health programs in the Northwest. However, some of the war results proved beneficial. During the war two medical schools were transferred to the Northwest. Sian has had a medical school since 1940 when the famous Medical School of National Peiping University was transferred there. It was not retransferred to Peiping after the war. A medical school was started in Lanchow
743 after the war as part of the National Lanchow University. In 1942 the Northwest Hospital was established at Lanchow, where, in 1944, over 30,000 outpatients and over a thousand inpatients were treated. Much medical field work was done during the war and a few army hospitals were opened in the Northwest. Hsi-ning also started a school hospital and a city-hospital during the war. A special health center was opened at Ting-yüan-ying for the Alashan Mongols.

744 V. Health and Sanitation Under the Communists

+668 The necessity to extend the work done in the medical field in
● 177 the Northwest was clearly recognized by the Communist Government. According to the Chinese Communist reports from Peking, Northwest China, included in the overall program adopted by the Party to improve health and sanitation, has made relative progress in the field of public health.

The overall health policies of the Communist Government were adopted in 1950 by the First All-China Health Conference. This Conference stressed the following three principles as the guiding lines: (1) concentration on the health of the workers, farmers and soldiers; (2) emphasis on the means of prevention rather than cure of disease; and (3) uniting the modern and old-style doctors. The latter measure was decided upon because of the tremendous shortage of qualified doctors trained in modern methods to meet the needs of the huge population of China, the problem being more acute in remote regions.

A special conference entitled "The All-China Conference on the

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Health of the Various Nationalities in the Country," was convened by representatives of the Tibetan, Moslem, Yi, Uighur, Mongol, and Han nationalities, representatives of the health administrative organs of the Central People's Government and the various administrative regions, the representatives of the nationalities affairs, authorities of the various administrative regions, leaders of the medical preventive service corps to the national minority areas, and specially invited delegates of all nationalities.

"The Conference will undertake special studies in the diseases which most seriously endanger the health of the people in the national minority areas, such as venereal diseases, malaria, women's and infants' ailments (colds, measles, smallpox, puerperal fever), and thus to proceed to the decision on a definite policy for the work of promoting the health of the national minorities.

The Conference is expected to reach decisions also on various necessary measures for building up a public health system in the minority areas, such as the organization of health machineries, the fostering of health cadres, and the propaganda on health matters among the population." (NCNA Peking, August 24, 1951).

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The need for professional medical help in the Northwest was one of the most urgent problems facing the Communist Government in the implementation of its health program. Young students from Central China with some medical knowledge were encouraged to go to the aid of the national minorities in the Northwest. "Go West" is the slogan of the day, and is considered to be a true pioneering act.

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The primary attention is given to the workers, particularly those working on big governmental projects. "In the mountainous region of Szechwan, Shensi and Kansu Provinces, workers on reconstruction receive medical care. For each billeting camp of 1,000 of more a clinic staffed with 5 to 8 doctors and nurses is operating. Four regular hospitals have been opened in Chengtu and other cities along the line especially for road workers." (FBIS, No. 61, March 29, 1955).

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In April, 1955, a new medical college was opened in Sinkiang to meet some of the problems of lack of medical personnel. Clinics were opened in various parts of the Sinkiang Autonomous Region to combat the most common diseases in the area. Particular emphasis was placed on curing and preventing venereal diseases.

"From June to October, four health service teams dispatched by the venereal disease prophylactic and therapeutic clinic of Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region gave free treatment to some 3,000 peasants and nomads of various nationalities. In addition to the prophylactic and therapeutic stations already established in the various counties, another well-equipped outpatient department has been added in Urumchi. The clinic has enrolled 60

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743 students from the nationalities to learn prophylactic and therapeu-
744 tic work." (FBIS, November 30, 1955).
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179 Particular attention has also been paid to the Tibetan region
as a whole and to Chinghai Province. About health programs
N developed in Tibet we have the following information: "Over
657 5 million yüan have been allocated by the Central People's Gov-
743 ernment to develop health work in the Tibet region during the past
744 four years. During this time hospitals have been built in Lhasa
171 and Chamdo; in addition, clinics and mobile medical teams have
*668 given service to patients in small towns and remote areas.
• 179 Incomplete statistics show that free medical treatment and innocu-
lation reached 963,000 people. In the same period, 170 Tibetans
have been trained as medical workers. The Central People's
Government has sent more than 400 doctors and nurses from
other parts of the country to the region.

Plans were drawn up at a regional health conference of leading members of Tibet's health organizations and representatives of the Ministry of Public Health to establish more clinics and mobile medical teams and to train 50 to 80 Tibetan medical workers in the coming two years." (FBIS 181, September 16, 1955).

N In Chinghai province itself, the Provincial Health Office ad-
744 ministers the health program. Health clinics have been estab-
743 lished in different parts of the province. The work here is more
*668 difficult because of the many nomadic tribes in the steppes. The
179 Communists have aimed to train people among the nomads to take the position of medical personnel in their tribe. Progress in this area is slower. Some of the bigger already established clinics have been converted to hospitals.

According to their reports, on the whole, the progress made by the Communist Government in the field of health and sanitation is quite impressive. The first positive steps toward improving the health and sanitation conditions have been taken, but there is still much to be done in the future.

747 799 establishments in the Northwest prior to the war. (See Section on Religion). During the war, however, religiously sponsored welfare work also spread to the Northwest. Among the more active organizations, the Friends' Ambulance Unit (FAU) which came to China in 1941 has to be mentioned; Catholic missionary 747 799 736 organs also did much welfare work in the Northwest. The outstanding welfare contribution of the Catholics is their maintenance of orphanages, particularly for girls. In 1933 there existed three Catholic orphanages in Sian (Shensi), six in Lanchou (Kansu) and one in Ch'in-chou (Kansu) in which altogether 480 orphans were cared for. During the war, the number of orphanages grew to eleven in Shensi, twenty in Kansu (including Ninghsia) and one each in Chinghai and Sinkiang. In these institutions altogether 2,758 orphans found shelter and relief. Under the Communists these Catholic orphanages attracted particularly vicious attacks. No data are available from the Northwest; if, however, events in other parts of China can be generalized, it has to be assumed that none of these institutions survives. In addition eleven homes for the old were maintained by Catholic missionaries in the Northwest with over two hundred inmates. Also the Catholic refugee camps at Feng-hsiang, Shensi must be mentioned.

747 648 As the provinces of the Northwest were not occupied by the Japanese during World War II, UNRRA activities did not extend to this region.

V. Chinese Communist Welfare Projects

74 *668 • 177 From the information that we get from the Communist press and propaganda, the Chinese Communist Government has launched an extensive program of public welfare, dedicated in particular to the raising of standards and security of the working class. It is no wonder that the Communist regime emphasizes the working classes to such an extent, since it claims that its ideological bases rest on this class. Life and medical insurance programs, better working conditions in factories and construction jobs, and welfare facilities for the working people are included in the Communist program. According to the Labor Insurance Law 745 *668 177 of 1951 (revised in 1953) workers were guaranteed from sixty to one hundred percent of their wages in case of injury or illness (including non-occupational ones) for their first six months of absence; after six months, they were to receive from forty to sixty percent of their wages from the labor insurance fund. Their jobs are secured for them upon recovery. Women had special provision for childbirth, upon which they received eight weeks of paid vacation and the expenses of the birth were taken on by the management. Provisions for the workers' future at old age, and the future of their families in case of accident was guaranteed as well.

If this law is fully implemented, it provides security for the workers and their families. However, we have no knowledge of how close to the letter of the law the practice of the government is. Nor do we know what percentage of the workers enjoy the benefit of this law.

Child-welfare is highly valued in China, whose future rests on the health and upbringing of its children. Therefore, extensive child-welfare programs have been adopted. Since the Communist society demands that women participate in industrial and construction works and contributed to the economic development of the country, provisions had to be made to take adequate care of their children. For this purpose many nurseries were established which provide a place for the children during the day time. Government orphanages were established as well, supplementing the already existing institutions. The aged, however, do not receive as much attention in the Communist society since they are viewed as being of no productive value to the society.

/Mongols of the Northwest/

These feelings and emotional attitudes were hardly sufficient to arouse animosity or hatred toward the Chinese but rather an unjustified and unwarranted feeling of superiority. The progressive advancement of Chinese settlers, however, who gradually took over lot after lot of their pasture land led not only to hatred but resulted in petty uprisings, so that even the Manchu government several times issued laws against Chinese advancements, which were hardly ever observed. Complaints of the Mongol leaders did not help and they were numerically too weak for military action.

Only in the case of the sedentary Mongols of the Northwest, the Monguors, such problems never arose, as they had become so strongly sinified that their tribal leaders were considered by the Chinese themselves as Chinese officials with a reputation of absolute loyalty.

D. Attitudes toward the Communist Regime

Throughout the history of the Mongols, their pattern of living, internal and external, changed very little. Their families constituted auls, the auls, clans and the clans, tribes. Besides this structural organization, there existed the military institutions of banners and leagues. The internal order was always strict and the laws and regulations hard. A leader who was not strict and hard would hardly be considered as a leader and the history of the Mongols shows that a strong leader always evoked their respect and found them to be submissive followers.

In view of this fact there is little doubt that the Mongols of the Northwest will respect the iron hand of Peking, even though probably with mixed emotions. The creation of autonomous chous (districts) populated only or overwhelmingly by Mongols might give them a certain feeling of self-determination and cultural autonomy. The organization of veterinarian stations which take care of their livestock will certainly be welcome to the nomads; the organization of a widespread educational system might be another asset for the Communists as it fosters Mongolian language and promotes literature written in Mongolian. The establishment of permanent winter sites, on the other hand, which is contradictory to Mongol customs and above all the threatening collectivization of their livestock, which is the Mongols' highest and greatest treasure, are negative aspects. This, of course, refers to the present generation only. The younger and youngest generation, subject to a very vivid and propagandistic education will undoubtedly change their attitude toward the present regime, a process for which the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia are a classic example. (see also IMAR Handbook, same section).

III. The Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans

An attempt at a cohesive description of popular attitudes among

apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and more lucrative business." (p. 73).

Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much concerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures, one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They always think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the suspicion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah. This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Government took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

565 extremely obedient and timid toward the government officials.
829 Anyone who has some connection with the government can com-
181 mand the service and materials of the small people. One who has just a sword may act as a lord in the Chinese rural community. The common people in these communities are too meek and ignorant to resist. The rural people in general are primarily concerned with their food problem. Their attitude toward anything
565 is affected by this problem. Their attitude toward the coming of
829 the Communists, for example, was quite interesting. They were
668 anxious to know how far the Communists were and how great the
• 179 possibility was of their coming. When they were asked how they felt about the coming of the Communists, the answer was that what they feared mostly about the Communists was that the Communists might eat up all the food they had and then they would be left to starvation. They seemed to believe that the Communists would not persecute them because they were just poor people. They had heard that the people in Szechwan called the Communists the misfortune bringers. It meant that wherever the Communists appeared they would bring misfortune. The Kansu people would not care how sweet the Communist promises might be, if the Communists had to live off the province's scanty food supply, they were not wanted. This shows that the economic conditions in the Northwest, as in other places, had great influence on the people's political attitude.

However, this does not mean that the Chinese peasants in the Northwest care only about their stomach and overlook all else. They also resent the fact that the government officials and the local gentry looked down upon them and treated them as people of little value. It is reported that bad administration of the local government at that time was the reason that the local Communists, led by a man named Liu Tzu-tan, were able to make considerable progress among the peasants in a big territory between the provinces of Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia. The Communists gave the people many kinds of little or temporary advantages and made all sorts of big promises. At the moment they looked much better than the local government officials and therefore they won the people's confidence and support. It is reported that when the government tried to call the people in the villages to a meeting so they might be enlightened about the government's policy, very few came. But whenever Liu Tzu-tan wanted a mass meeting, the peasants swarmed into wherever the gathering was held. Liu Tzu-tan knew the common people's psychology and their dire needs, and he skillfully played these factors for his purpose. Consequently, his movement was very successful among the rural masses.

423 According to Fan Ch'ang-chiang's report, the Chinese farmers in the areas between Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia were by and large landowners, not tenants. The areas were very thinly populated

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

*563 181 526 [593] hunting and racing games. In playing such games all the participants think and act as equal competitors. All social and kinship distinctions disappear. The competition between father and son, if they all participate in the same game, could be just as fierce as that between two other persons.

*563 [184] In regard to relations between the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems, the attitude of the people in Ninghsia was quite different from that of people elsewhere. In Ninghsia, the Chinese-speaking Moslem leaders held that the Moslems are not a race different from the Chinese but that they are only a religious group. Because of this attitude the Ninghsia Moslem leaders advised their co-religionists not to undertake any political movement on the basis of race. This attitude eliminated or at least lessened the racial antagonism between the Moslems and the Chinese. Another [198] significant trend to be mentioned here is that the traditional barriers between the Moslems and the Chinese have been melting *563 • 199 away in recent years. Fan reports that the Moslems in the northern parts of Ninghsia went voluntarily to Chinese schools and learned the Chinese language. Some of their religious leaders were alarmed and tried to stop this. But the people answered them by saying: "After our children have gone to Chinese schools and learned the Chinese language they immediately become useful in helping their families to make a living. What is the use of learning the Koran?"

797 Robert B. Ekvall is a Christian missionary who lived in the southeastern parts of the Northwest for many years. He and his wife did evangelistic work mostly among the sedentary Tibetans in the district of the Kansu-Chinghai border. He made numerous observations on the sedentary Tibetans and the Tibetan-influenced 798 Chinese. About the latter, Ekvall says: "In contrast to the violent *563 incompatibility existing between the Chinese and the Moslems, we 795 have Chinese and Tibetans displaying a mutual tolerance in matters of religious belief and practice... the Chinese of the border differ from those already described in that they place a greater emphasis upon Buddhism to the neglect of some aspects of Confucianism. In particular do the more uneducated tend to become almost entirely Buddhistic in observance; the scholars, of course, give greater place to the doctrines of the Sacred Books of Confucian teaching and always refer to themselves as members of the Confucian sect. Also, the Chinese of the border country - possibly influenced by the religious fervor of the Tibetans - appear more religious-minded than their fellow countrymen of the Titao district." (Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p. 33)

*563 621 184 In speaking of the differences between the Chinese and the sedentary Tibetans, Ekvall observes that the Chinese village organization permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas in the Tibetan village, communal activity completely overshadows

*563 621 184 individual activity. In all matters relating to the village-owned woodlands and pasturelands, as well as in all matters regulating the time of planting, harvesting, etc., the Tibetan village acts with a solidarity and unanimity that is comparatively lacking in a Chinese village community, although that community also owns communal wood lots and pastures.

*563 722 727 The sedentary Tibetans in the Northwest, according to Ekvall, were quite friendly toward the Chinese. The Tibetan country with which Ekvall is familiar "has again and again been a most effective refuge for those fleeing from the three great Mohammedan rebellions" and from other local troubles. The Tibetans, like many unsophisticated peoples, are rather soft-hearted toward refugees, especially if they be destitute. By Tibetan custom the right of refuge has become one of the basic rights, and when it is reinforced by the claims of acquaintance and the functioning of the "guest-host" system this right of refuge can open a path into the most exclusive of Tibetan communities.

*563 162 [562] The sedentary Tibetans are short of males. For this reason, in every instance intermarriage is between a Chinese man and a Tibetan woman - never between a Tibetan man and a Chinese woman. This means that the Tibetans put more value on their men than on their women. They can afford to give up a woman, but not a man.

829 *668 • 177 Attitudes of the Chinese in the Northwest toward the present regime again differ widely. The so-called Shen-Kan-Ning Border Area was the core area of the Yenan regime. Communist policies and maneuvers were experienced here for almost a decade and a half before they were applied to other parts of China. It will be remembered that the strategy of the Yenan period differed considerably from later usages. An initially sceptically favorable attitude of the rural population seemed at that time justified. Those who joined the party or the army did so with enthusiasm and a sense of mission. (Compare, however, section Political Dynamics on their later fate). Regions outside the Border Areas did not enjoy this "privilege". To the pronounced conservatism of the rural population in other parts of Shensi and Kansu, Communist innovations which were in contrast to their traditions and interests came as a heavily felt shock. Their passivity and submissiveness on the other hand kept them from voicing open discontent. Apathy would probably be the right term to represent the rural people's attitude toward the new regime. [150?]

1: Washington S-4 (no date)- 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AII
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THE CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

I. The Historical Background

When the Communists conquered Northwest China, they created a Northwestern administrative area, which included the five provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. In 1954, the Communist Government abolished Ninghsia Province and put it under the jurisdiction of Kansu. In 1955 it changed Sinkiang Province into the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. So now, Northwest China includes three provinces, namely, Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and one autonomous region, Sinkiang.

Historically speaking, Shensi and Kansu were under one governor-general during the Manchu Dynasty. For many purposes, such as provincial examinations, the two provinces were handled as a unit. At that time, part of Chinghai and Ninghsia were considered to belong to Kansu. While most of Sinkiang was administered under a special military government system, its eastern strip, from Tihua (Urumchi) to Hami, was under the jurisdiction of the governor-general of Shen-Kan. When Sinkiang later was made a province, it absorbed all the territory west of Hami.

Under the Nationalist Government, the Kokonor area was separated from Kansu. It became the nucleus of the Province of Chinghai, which was established in 1928. During the same year the Nationalist Government also established Ninghsia Province by uniting the northern counties of Kansu along the Yellow River with the two Mongolian Banners, Alashan and Edsin. Thus, when the Communist Government abolished Ninghsia as a province by combining it with Kansu, it merely reestablished part of the old border line.

During most of the Manchu Dynasty, Sinkiang was a special area. The local people retained a high degree of self-government. Even after the area was established as a province, the Chinese government let the local leaders handle most of the business of their own people. Thus, the establishment of an autonomous region in Sinkiang also had a historical basis.

II. The Constitutional Systems

A. Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic

In October of 1927, Mao Tse-tung retreated to the border area of Hunan and Kiangsi. There he established the "Hunan-Kiangsi Border Region Worker-Peasant Government". This was the beginning of the Chinese Soviet Government. After the Communists had consolidated their position, they established a "Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic". This was a Communist constitution for a Communist government. After suffering severe losses from Nationalist attacks, the Chinese Communists were no longer able

governors were holdovers from the past, and of these thirteen, nine were Chinese. The provincial people's congresses also showed a greater proportion of Chinese. In Kansu, 20 of the 25 elected members of the people's congress were Chinese, and in Chinghai, 12 of the 23 were Chinese.

A word must be said about the representation of national minorities in the National People's Congress in Peking in the fall of 1954. The number of national minorities in China, according to the 1953 census, was 35,320,360, and they elected a total of 150 delegates. This comes to one delegate for every 235,470 persons, which compares unfavorably with the residents of municipalities and industrial centers where the ratio was one to 800,000. In the 1226-seat National People's Assembly, 177 national minority delegates (150 elected, 27 appointed) representing six per cent of the total population, occupy 14 per cent of the seats.

The seats allocated to the minorities of the Northwest were as follows: Kansu 8, Chinghai 6, and Sinkiang 18, or a total of 32. Geographically, the distribution of seats were: Sian municipality 8, Shensi 19, Kansu 25, Chinghai 9, Sinkiang 20, or a total of 82. It was not explained whether the 32 minority delegates were added to the 82 or were part of the 82. If the total number of seats was 82 for the 35,358,000 people of the Northwest, it would come to one delegate for every 431,200 people. At any rate, the number of seats is unimportant, except as window-dressing. The delegates were all Communist officials, fellow travellers, labor heroes, military commanders, religious leaders, and educational and technical workers, who, having been screened and processed in the elections of successive levels, were not men who would entertain nonconformist thoughts.

Moreover, the formation of people's congresses, like the establishment of regional autonomous governments, does not mean that the people have been given the right to govern themselves. According to the Organic Law on the Local People's Congresses and Local People's Councils adopted by the National People's Congress in September, 1954, the functions and powers of the people's congresses was "to ensure the observance and execution of the laws, decrees, and resolutions of the people's congresses of higher levels," (art. 6), and the functions and powers of the people's councils (or people's governments) was "to promote and carry out the decisions of the governments of higher level" (art. 27).

VI. Further Consolidation of Communist Control

In the fall of 1954, as the elections were approaching their final stage, there were structural changes in the administration of the Northwest which gave the impression that Peking was relaxing its grip over the Northwest. Following the decisions of the

Central People's Government, the province of Ninghsia was merged into Kansu, (in June, 1956, the territory of the Alashan and Edsingol Mongols in Ninghsia was incorporated into the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region), the municipality of Sian was transferred from the direct control of Peking to the Shensi Provincial People's Government, and the Northwest Administrative Council was dissolved.

However, by other more subtle means, the control of Peking over the Northwest provinces and the ascendancy of the Chinese over the national minority peoples in the border regions were bolstered, not reduced. The election of 1953-54 signalized the kick-off of the much heralded transition of China to socialism. This was the General Line of the State during the period of transition which was adopted by the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference on September 24, 1953. In its economic aspects, it called for industrialization and collectivization, and in its political aspects, it stressed the consolidation of the unity of the peoples of China under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, and Mao Tse-tung. (JMJP March 28, 1954).

These two aspects were interrelated, industrialization and collectivization aimed at bringing further the people in line with the policies of the Communist party and government and consolidation was to be accomplished by the employment of cadres and the party members to arouse and organize the masses (cf. decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in NCNA, January 8, 1954).

A. Collectivization

Under a deliberate policy of the state, intensified by the Korean War, augmented by equipment and personnel transferred from the coastal cities and facilitated by improvement in transportation, industrialization had made tremendous headway in the Northwest. And with industrialization, the control of the workers by the state also increased. By the end of 1955, 540 kilometers of the 2,800 kilometer Lanchou-Sinkiang Railway had been completed, further extending Communist control over the Northwest.

However, the population of the Northwest is still predominantly agricultural, and it was in the organization of the residents of the rural areas into mutual aid teams and cooperatives that the extent of Communist control over the masses is best revealed. The situation in the four Northwest provinces is as follows:

Shensi: During the year 1954, the program of organizing the farmers into mutual aid teams and agricultural producers cooperatives suffered a setback due to incompetent leadership. (Report of Chao Shou-shan, NCNA August 14, 1954). As a report of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party revealed (JMJP August 19, 1954): "After the summer harvest, due to slack

¥668 unity among the major national and ethnic groups. Neither have really succeeded in achieving their aims. On the other hand, it was in the Northwest that the Chinese Communists first came to power. In the 1930's, the headquarters of Chinese Communism was at Yenan, and the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region became the basis of their might. After 1949, the Northwest was regarded as one of the "old liberated areas," and the birthplace of the new regime.

¥668 • 177 IV. Dissatisfaction with Communist Regime

With the establishment of Communist administration, new reasons for discontent have arisen, while many of the old ones have not been remedied. In the first place, it is obvious that Islam, or any of the other religions of the Northwest, is basically incompatible with Marxism, a materialistic philosophy and a way of life that excludes any belief in the supernatural. Secondly, after centuries of relative freedom, if not of independence, Communism has brought to the nomadic tribes of the Northwest a system of government that is more centralized than any previous one in modern times. With it also came such impositions as the enforcement of Five Year Plan goals, the meeting of industrial and agricultural quotas, and the insecurity which police and party supervision create. The old tribal and family organization of the peoples of Sinkiang (especially the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs) is quite remote from the Communist institutions of control whereby economic classes are ruled from party, military and bureaucratic centers. Many have rebelled against it or left their native country altogether.

A. Degree of Acceptance of Communism

Yet it would not be correct to say that discontent is universal in the Northwest. The Communists, well realizing the importance of the Islamic faith and the cultural values of the minorities, have done their best to appear as the protectors and promoters of their spiritual needs. To a large degree they have succeeded in creating that impression. To the Turks of Sinkiang the Communists appeared sincerely interested in the survival of Mohammedanism. They failed to realize that cultural control amounted to an attempt to ensure political control over the Islamic communities.

[167] The number of refugees from Central Asia testifies to the strong anti-Communist feelings that have existed among the Turkic peoples since the 1920's. However, Communist policies were such that many of those who remained have become loyal supporters of the regime. The technological improvements, especially in the field of irrigation, that the Communists have introduced, [466] impressed them greatly. The fact that under army supervision virtual slave labor was used to accomplish this, has less signifi-

*668 cance than the fact that the hardships and disasters previously
• 172 caused by poor precipitation now seem to have been eliminated.
[466] Livestock has improved, as has the economy in general. There is a fairly good public health program to protect humans, and an even better one for the cattle. With patriotic fanfare both men and beasts now must undergo inoculation campaigns. In the cultural sphere, the Communists have increased the number of schools and have extended adult and higher education. Religious practices are not restricted. The native theater, music and dance, as well as the publication of books and magazines in the native languages, are officially encouraged, and lend color to what is generously called "cultural autonomy." Women have been given equal rights with men, a policy that has caused that segment to look favorably on the whole Communist regime. Even the enforcement of public safety and order has revealed a positive side. It has stopped the endless inter-tribal struggles over pasture lands and irrigation rights, and has insured a certain degree of internal peace - even if a rather artificial one. Mechanization in agriculture and industrialization in general has brought a great deal of pride to the tribal people. The superficial rights they have obtained have created a surprising amount of loyalty toward the regime.

[167] As a result, the number of refugees leaving for Afghanistan, Iran, Tibet and Pakistan, has become smaller, and the organs of effective opposition within Sinkiang and Northwestern China have become considerably weaker, a condition not entirely attributable to the campaign of suppression of counterrevolutionaries.

*668 B. "Counter-Revolutionary" Activities
669 While all this may be true to some degree, there are sufficient indications that the negative aspects of Communism often are greater than the technological gains and cultural freedoms that have made it acceptable to a substantial part of the population. The campaign for the suppression of counter-revolutionaries revealed that large numbers of people are antagonistic toward the Communist policies. (For incidents of this kind see section on Public Order and Safety and Political Dynamics). If these statements seem to be mutually contradictory, it must be remembered that elements of truth are present in both contentions. Any categoric evaluation of the attitudes of the people toward the Communist regime would surely be unrealistic. It must also be noted that official sources tend to exaggerate the evil and intensity of the counter-revolutionary activities in order to carry on an effective suppression campaign. This policy itself will continue to increase the dissatisfaction and insecurity of the people. Another point to be remembered is that opposition to the Communist administration is not uniform throughout the Northwest. The provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, are inhabited by large numbers of Chinese,

*668 is evident that loopholes are open everywhere for sudden changes in tactics and policy. Overnight, a most loyal attitude may change into subversion.

*668 578 The Communists themselves admit that tensions exist even within the ranks of the cadres. Not only do Chinese and non-Chinese cadres confront each other with antagonism, but friction also exists between the old veteran cadres and the newly graduated younger men, as well as between party cadres and non-party cadres. Personal jealousy and ambition, mixed with the fear of sudden purges, have hardly diminished over the last few years and will probably continue to hamper the efficiency of the Communist administration. (See Political Dynamics.)

2. Effect of the campaigns

*668 661 578 Nation-wide drives and campaigns are felt as strongly in the border regions as in China Proper. The effects of the Three-Anti and the Five-Anti movements were especially violent when they hit the people of the Northwest in 1952. Countless cadres, officials, and ordinary citizens of the merchant class were charged with graft, waste, bureaucraticism, tax evasion, bribery, cheating in government contracts, theft of economic intelligence, and stealing of national property. Many were imprisoned, sent to corrective labor camps, or sentenced to death. It is difficult to gauge, however, to what degree the Communist charges were true, or, on the other hand, how much the policy of terror increased resentment against Communist rule. But it goes without saying that the result of such spiritual and physical control makes for continual intimidation and fear. While it makes concerted opposition impossible, it foments the bitterness and unrest upon which eventual open resistance is based.

*668 578 [701] Undoubtedly, the role of the army in carrying out government policies causes much tenseness. It heightens the intensity of terror involved in the implementation of such campaigns as land reform and the suppression of counter-revolutionaries. (Union Research Service, September 27, 1955.) To compensate for the lack of man-power in agriculture and industry, the Communist government has sent large numbers of "reform workers" to the Northwest. According to one source, a subversive potential has been created as "reform workers and minority peoples whose interests are identical, have banded together to oppose Communist rule," and that "cases of resistance have been more numerous than has been imagined." (Ibid.)

3. Effect of economic measures

*668 • 179 The Chinese Communist government hopes that the Northwest will eventually play an important part in the industrial growth of the entire country. For the moment they are still concentrating on increasing the agricultural output and developing animal husbandry. The initial pressure on Northwestern farmers to

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*668 collectivize was slight, but the speed toward socialization has
•177 been increased greatly especially since the middle of 1955. The
plans call for a continuation in the breakdown of privately-owned
S farms. In Sinkiang the 1702 production cooperatives which existed
[668] in 1955 are to be increased to 3469 in 1956. By 1960, 35% of all
[177] households are scheduled to be at least semi-socialized. Further-
[474] more, a relatively large number of mechanized state farms have
been instituted in the Northwest (China News Agency No. 112.).
It is not surprising that these rapid changes, combined with methods
of terror and intimidation, should result in peasant opposition.
(Union Research Service, Oct. 14, 1955.)

N 4. Religious organizations
*668 Religious organizations have also come under attack. Counter-
798 revolutionaries are suspected of hiding in them and of using them
669 for propaganda activities and espionage. Sinister anti-government
N activities are attributed to the traditional secret societies, espe-
*668 cially I-kuan-tao, which has many branches throughout China and
575 appears under various names. It is estimated to have 100,000
members in Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia. Secret society activities
have existed among the Chinese Moslems since Tso Tsung-t'ang's
invasion of the Northwest. Only now are they being suppressed.
It is unlikely that, after such a long existence, the Communists
will succeed in completely uprooting the organizations in the very
near future.

N C. Centers of Resistance Abroad
*668 It is clear that no effective organs of opposition can exist in
669 the Northwest under conditions of terror and in the face of a cen-
tralized system of police and military control. All that can be
expected is individual terror and sabotage - a method of opposition,
nevertheless, that continues to give the administration constant
irritation and worry. Moreover, if historical precedent can serve
as an indication for the future, a rebellious movement can attain
political significance only when military aid from abroad is avail-
able. This was the case during World War II, for instance, when
the Turks of southern Russia rebelled against the Soviet regime
and sided with the Germans. At present only two important cen-
ters of resistance exist abroad. One is the so-called National
Turkestanian Unity Committee (Turkish: Milli Turkistan Birlik
Quomitasinin), headed by its president, Veli Kayum Khan, a mem-
ber of an old aristocratic Uzbek clan; the other is Formosa, the
rallying point of all anti-Communists from the mainland.

1. The Turkestanian Unity Committee

N Few people in the West are aware of the existence of an East
*668 and West Turkistan government-in-exile, which is supported by
669 the Turks of Central Asia and by Turkestanian refugees. Due to
648 their fear of political entanglements with Russia, none of the

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000 and it is already reported that some cotton cloth is being shipped to the U.S.S.R.

452 474 *668 In the field of credit financing, purchasing and marketing, extensive efforts have been underway to place these activities under the control of cooperatives specifically erected and designed to extend State control over the rural areas. These co-ops are designed to assist in agricultural planning and to assure the realization of annual output quotas. Credit cooperatives are closely coordinated with the development of agricultural producer cooperatives in order to provide them with funds to develop and simultaneously to absorb any liquid savings that have accrued among these co-ops. For the purpose of State purchasing and marketing, cooperatives have been set up which survey individual households to determine household consumption and output. Frequently, advance purchases of expected agricultural surpluses are made by these co-ops. All surpluses which can be purchased by State marketing and supply co-ops are channeled through State apparatus to where they can be used most efficiently.

654 232 *668 [476] The State has taken measures to increase livestock production by first attempting to set up mutual aid teams among the pastoral people and sending specially trained teams into the pastoral areas to immunize animals, teach the herders better care of their stock to prevent loss of animals, and conduct breeding experiments to improve the quality of livestock. Superior types of animals from [177] the Soviet Union have been imported on some occasions to be bred with native stock.

242 *668 [177] Pests, locusts, and animal diseases have always been a scourge in this region. The State has undertaken to acquire technicians and airplanes from the U.S.S.R. to spray regions where the threat of locusts has become serious. Insecticide has been distributed throughout the lower level agricultural co-ops and campaigns have been conducted among the peasants to eliminate plant and animal diseases.

313 *668 Teams have been sent out to survey forested portions of the region and to determine what measures might be taken to expand existent forest reserves, plant saplings, establish nurseries and carry out large-scale afforestation to prevent erosion.

241 *668 [433] [242] [474] These have been the general measures taken by the Chinese Communists so far to develop agriculture in this portion of the country. Some successes have been scored; e.g., in increasing the number of livestock and higher crop yields per acre by the introduction of better procedures of livestock care and farming. However, the program of organizing the peasantry into co-ops to achieve similar results, has not been successful in every instance.

[518] Bandits and dissatisfied portions of the minorities who did not welcome the Communists have been quite active in disrupting their programs. As the years in the first five year plan pass, the plan-

one of the most important industrial areas in China for three reasons. First, the Northwest, especially Sinkiang, has shown great promise in mineral deposits. The Communists have sent out thousands of geologic prospectors to this area, and reports of new discoveries have frequently been publicized by the Communist papers, (see the section on Mineral Resources). Second, the geographical location of this area is such that it would be the ideal location for China's new industries from the strategic point of view. Last, as this area borders on Soviet Russia, it would be more convenient from the standpoint of accepting technical aid from Russia.

Based perhaps on the above-mentioned reasoning, the Communists have paid special attention to the future development of this area. In Sinkiang, for instance, before the Communists took over, there was very little industrial production. But in 1952, the total industrial production in Sinkiang amounted to New JMP$39,075,400, not including the value of handicrafts, which amounted to New JMP$135,598,000. In terms of percentages of the 1952 production in Sinkiang, the industrial production accounted for 5.71 percent of the total, and the handicrafts accounted for 19.81 percent. According to plans, by the end of 1957, the value of industrial production in Sinkiang will be increased to New JMP$292,758,500, or 749 percent of that of 1952. If these plans are carried out, industrial production will account for 22.64 of the total production in Sinkiang and handicrafts will account for 15.09 percent of the total; the planned total production for 1957 would be New JMP$1,293,227,200.

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

the days of the great Li Hung-ch'ang, himself a native of that place. All these officials are, of course, more or less members of the Anhui military party, whose influence in the government of the country has been so great in recent years[1].

The foreign community of Lanchou at the time of our visit consisted of the China Inland Mission, a Catholic priest, and the British Postmaster, who, like his colleague in Hsian Fu, and indeed the foreign postal officials throughout the country, is doing splendid work for the Chinese. The efficiency of the Chinese Postal Service, under a French Director-General in Peking working with a staff of French, British, and other nationals, is truly remarkable, when one takes into consideration the many difficulties there are to contend with. Especially has this been the case during the constant rebellions and civil wars of the past few years, in spite of which steady progress has been made. On the whole the warring factions, whether government troops, revolutionaries, rebels, or brigands, respect the C.P.O. in a remarkable manner, due apparently to their genuine admiration for the one really sound institution in the interior; and the postal couriers are often able to pass backwards and forwards through districts where no other Chinese dare venture. Occasionally, but not often considering the numbers carried, a mail is lost through the action of brigands.

There are not a great many missionaries in Kansu compared to some of the other provinces, at the time we were there only about ten or a dozen stations altogether, and only one doctor. It would probably surprise many people not well acquainted with missionary work in China to find how few ordained clergymen there are amongst the ranks of the Protestant missionaries; I do not think we met any in Kansu. This puzzles the Catholics very much with their strict system of training. Of course there is no particular reason why a missionary should be a clergyman, though the uninitiated are apt to look upon him as such; except that ordained clergymen are usually well-read men of superior

[1] This influence has since steadily increased until in 1920 a group of rival Northern Generals challenged the Anhui military party (on the usual pretext of defending democratic principles) and overthrew them in a series of battles round Peking in the summer of that year.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

flowery trees and shrubs, roses and peonies, made the garden fragrant. The temple held a fine set of china figures representing the Pa Hsien. These are the Eight Genii, the men of the hills, who once lived on earth, but now, free from the grosser claims of the flesh, still retain the capacity for such minor delights as strolling leisurely in beautiful surroundings, or even those of eating and drinking. When in the flesh, although they practised asceticism, it was not to such a degree as to secure complete etherisation. They are not immortal, but enjoy a prolonged and easeful life. The little figures look their best standing on the old lacquered table in the sombre shrine, and the gay gardens provide an appropriate setting to these unaspiring beings.

Above the porch was a fresco which showed—hanging in graceful attitude over a balcony rail—the form of the Kwan in—Goddess of Mercy—with an infant in her lap. The pose, coiffure, and background were so Western that it might have been a fresco in the porch of an Italian Church. This was not the only place in which we saw pictures which bore a distinct trace of Nestorian tradition and influence, and this is not surprising considering that in the thirteenth century, Marco Polo still found groups of Nestorian Christians, both in Kanchow and in Suchow.

Close by the Temple of the Spacious Hills was a quiet courtyard, where ten Buddhist nuns lived in community. They were all deficient, either physically or mentally, blind, deaf or short-witted. Their feet were unbound and their hair cropped. They were in receipt of a pension, and gave themselves up to reciting long liturgies. Their services were valued at funerals, where they intone prayers for the departed. We often called in and sat for an hour, and they loved to see our Scripture pictures, and listen to the Bible stories.

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

morass) the whole of the party made its way on foot to a wretched hovel, where on the damp ground, amidst indescribable dirt, we spent the night. Incidentally, we discovered that we were expected at this house; and that the carter was smuggling illicit goods to his friends under cover of our tracts. The next day the mules were changed for oxen. 'There are rivers ahead,' said the man, in a confidential whisper; 'nothing like oxen for crossing water. This, my nephew, (here he indicated a lad of about sixteen) 'understands the fords thoroughly, and he will now take you on for the rest of the way.'

Knowing there could be no danger from rivers at this season of the year, but feeling that we might, at this rate, never reach our destination at all, we accepted the new arrangement, trusting 'Welcome Home' to see us safely through; and late that afternoon, in a snowstorm, we reached Kinta.

It proved to be an interesting place, colonised two hundred years ago by people from Taiyüanfu, in Shansi, and though small, yet from its position on well-watered land of large extent, it is a place of importance.

The Golden Tower, from which Kinta takes its name, is in Indian style, as are also many of the temple frescoes and wooden idols of the cities north-west of Kanchow, showing that at one time Indian art had strongly imprinted its mark in the Province of Kansu. The dome of the tower is said to have originally been covered with pure gold, which was stripped off by the Moslems and replaced by brass; and this having in turn been stolen, the whole tower was subsequently whitewashed, as it is to-day.

In the spring the temples all hold separate festivals in honour of their respective gods, and we were in Kinta when the *Cheng Wang* (protective deity of the